

THE GOLDEN AGE OF MILITARY ADVENTURE IN CEYLON.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE UVA REBELLION
1817—1818.

BY

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FOREWORD

BY

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and contains

Nine Illustrations and a Map of the Island

showing

Military Routes, Out-ports and Forts

of Early British Times

(O P)

PRICE-RS.-3:-

TO
MY WIFE

This Book is Dedicated

In recognition of her patience and considerable
assistance,

FOREWORD.

WHY did the history I learned at school end with the battle of Waterloo? Why was I never taught anything of what has happened since? Such grumbles are not uncommon, and quite often they are just and well-deserved criticisms of school education in England.

We in Ceylon can complain even more bitterly. Not only is it difficult for the schoolboy or the general reader, but it is hard even for the keen historical student to get much idea of what happened in the Island after that same date—after 1815, from any hitherto published works.

Not that information is lacking: far from it. The trouble rather is that the material is too vast. Almost unlimited material lies, untouched by researchers, in the Government Archives, in the Colombo Museum Library, in the dusty files of Courts and Kachcheries, and in records in private hands. It will be the task of many students to delve into these before the “early British” period in our history can be much more than surveyed.

All lovers of history, including myself, therefore welcomed the articles which have been appearing month by month in the “Ceylon Causerie” under the title of “The Golden Age of Military Adventure in Ceylon,” for work like Mr. Brohier’s is of that valuable type known as “pioneering.” When the author asked me to write a foreword to these articles, to be published in book form, I gladly acceded to his request.

He has taken that interesting episode, the Uva Rebellion of 1817—1818, and brought it vividly before his readers, particularly in its military aspect. Into the rights and wrongs of this controversial episode he has not entered, and neither do I. The Military

problem which the British authorities had to face was in one sense not a serious one, for in no case had they to encounter any well armed and disciplined forces. But it was very difficult, as guerrilla warfare always is difficult, from the absence of adequate means of communication, from the small size of the forces available to operate in so large and difficult an area, and from the ever present threats which the climate presented to the health of the troops engaged.

The nature of the military problem set meant that very great responsibility was thrown on commanders of quite subordinate rank, who had to operate very much on their own initiative as commanders of detachments. For the Captain and the Subaltern it was indeed a golden opportunity for displaying their initiative.

Mr Brohier has sketched for us several of these interesting little operations, and brought before us a very striking picture of the dangers and privations suffered by those who took part in them.

I hope that this work of his will obtain the recognition which it certainly deserves, that he will pursue his researches into the period still further, and that other students will not be slow in following his example.

S. A. Pallman

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INTRODUCTION.

IN the following pages I have endeavoured to give an indulgent reader a few glimpses of a period of Ceylon's history which lies curtained by over a hundred years of British rule.

The stirring happenings of those early days afford drama, tragedy—call it what you will, which intermingle with the salient features of a story little known to present generations.

The retrospect is chiefly based on that all-important authority the General Orders of the Headquarter Military Office; or more rightly, on some extracts from these military orders which were culled many years ago by Qr. Master-Sergt : J. W. Ridal, Military Staff Clerk.

These extracts formed part of a collection of papers belonging to the late Mr. Frank Modder, F. R. G. S. and have been placed at my disposal by his son, Mr. E. R. F. Modder.

This authentic source of information has not been exhausted by writers who have already dealt with the period and consequently new light is thrown on many an episode.

Moreover, with the object of presenting a concise, and as far as it lies in my power to do so, an informative account of some special features, I have freely supplemented the extracts from the General Orders by drawing from forgotten pages in the old almanacs, gazetteers, magazines and pamphlets.

The literary labour of the late Mr. J. P. Lewis, has afforded me considerable help. The several gleanings from his wonderful work titled "Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon," which appear in the pages of this volume bear witness to this master historian's exhaustive research and intimate knowledge of early British times in Ceylon.

It is to be expected that there is no part of Ceylon where the rebellion has left more indelible impressions than in the *Province of Uva*, where the trouble originated.

Fragmentary information linking many a vestige to be picked out in that area has been kept alive by the traditionalist. I have elicited much of the information concerning these vestiges and many a story, by personal enquiries in the course of wanderings over the Island's back-blocks

Although I have striven to be accurate some mistakes doubtless have escaped my observation. I shall be most happy and thankful if these are pointed out to me, and I trust that the candid reader will not be so unjust as to condemn these pages for being something other than they pretend to be.

It only remains to avail myself of this opportunity to acknowledge my obligations. My thanks are due to Mr L. E. Blaze, for the help and assistance he has always freely rendered me, to Lieut. Col. Pakeman for his foreword and to Revd. R. Siddhartha, of the staff of the Ceylon University College, for his contribution to these pages.

R L. B

Colombo,

March, 1933.



THE GOLDEN AGE OF MILITARY ADVENTURE IN CEYLON.

THE UVA REBELLION.

(1817—1818)

CHAPTER, I.

The origin and the early days of the Insurrection.

ON the 2nd of March, in the year 1815, nearly nineteen years after the maritime provinces of the Island became subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George, a convention was concluded between Governor Brownrigg and the Kandyan Chiefs for deposing the Sinhalese King and establishing the British Government in the Kandyan provinces. Many valuable lives and intellect, learning and refinement had been sacrificed in attaining this end, nevertheless, there was yet a price to be paid for establishing dominion and conquering peace over Ceylon's central mountain regions.

The hostile disposition which had shown itself over the intervening period since the Dutch Government surrendered authority broke into a decided expression of discontent with British rule, in October, of the year 1817.

Although the subsequent events were heralded by mysterious whisperings of treason stirred up by some of the Chiefs, the origin of the outbreak not inaptly termed: "The Uva Rebellion," is attributed to have been set ablaze by a spark kindled through an accidental circumstance and as it would appear, prematurely.

Hadjee, a man of Matara, was appointed by the new Government as Headman over some Moorish villages in the out lying Division of Wellassa of the Badulla District. Remembering that the Province which we to day call Uva had never felt the yoke of a foreign policy, either Portuguese or Dutch, it is not strange that the Kandyan Sinhalese Headmen, more especially the Dissava, exhibited sullen animosity to the change which apart from breaking through hoary custom deprived them of considerable influence and gain. It is under such circumstances possible that this tangible expression of a change in policy was seized upon as sufficient motive to set afoot many another plan.

Mr Silvester Wilson, the Agent of Government at Badulla received information that a stranger with several priests had recently collected together in the jungles of Wellassa. He detailed Hadjee, the newly appointed Headman, to investigate the report and ascertain the object of this foregathering in a little peopled region.

While proceeding on his mission to execute the order, the Headman was captured at one of the rugged passes which afforded a way from the mountain region down to the plains of Wellassa, and was carried before this stranger an ex priest who had assumed the title of King taking the name Dorasamy, and who it was later ascertained was actively engaged exciting insurrection and rebellion against foreign dominion.

Mr Wilson, on hearing of these proceedings, set out in person to find out what were the real circumstances of this new development. It would appear from many conflicting versions that on his return after an unsuccessful conference he went to a river with his Lastoreens to wash himself. While at the river an armed party of Kandyans appeared on the other side and demanded another conference. Mr Wilson advanced to them, but, when within a few yards of the armed party, several arrows were treacherously discharged. He fell, with an arrow which had penetrated his brain.

The traveller who wanders to-day over the main road from Lunugala to Bibilo is reminded of this terrible tragedy by a stone slab. Should he pause a while at the spot he will read on it :

In memory of

Silvester Douglas Wilson

Assistant Resident and Agent of the British Government.

Prov : of Uva.

Who was killed near this spot at the out-break of the Uva
Rebellion 16th September, 1817.

(Erected by the Ceylon Government, 1913.)

The Pretender was a native of Wilbawa, a village two miles from Kurunegala on the Colombo road. He is described as a vellala, a person altogether insignificant and of no consideration as to birth. Nevertheless, Wilbawa, in ancient times called Wilabahu, which tradition tells was gifted to and named after King Vijeyo's son by his first queen Kuweni, was originally a royal village or "Gabadagama." This circumstance was perhaps considered sufficient by the rebel chiefs and insurgent leaders to espouse a claim that the person they had set up was a descendant of their line of kings, while in reality the pretensions were merely meant to cover their own ambitious views.

However, attributed to the fact that the pretender came from the Kurunegala District and that Pilama Talawa junior, as ambitious and intriguing a courtier as his father, was employing every means to stir up the people of the Seven Korales—the ancient Kandyan Dissavony which included Kurunegala, the rebellion quickly spread over a considerable area of what was till recently Kandyan territory.

Keppitipola, the Dissava of Uva, speedily threw in his lot with the rebel band. Before six months had elapsed the rebellion had assumed truly alarming proportions both from the rapidity and extent of its progress and the number of chiefs who had joined up.

These facts briefly represent the unfortunate circumstances under which the rebellion of 1817 began. Active measures followed for the suppression of the rising.

By a Proclamation made in November of the same year a reward of two thousand rix dollars was offered to anybody who would apprehend Dora samy, the pretender, and deliver him to the custody of any officer commanding a detachment of His Majesty's forces. Ehelapola, first Adigar, the nephew of Pihima Talawa the elder, who all along had insisted that his ambition was satisfied by being recognised as the friend of the British Government was suspected of favouring the rebel cause. Both he and Kappawatte, the second Adigar who was also suspected, were arrested and confined. While on the 21st of February, 1818, martial law was proclaimed and enforced in all the disturbed areas.

A search in the by paths of history elicit the fact that at this time the military strength of the Island consisted of H. M. s. 19th, 73rd and 83rd regiments of the line, and two companies of the Royal Artillery, the 1st Ceylon Regiment of Malays, the 2nd Ceylon Regiment of Sepoys, a corps of Lascareens, and one of Pioneers and Gun Lascars.

The first detailed account of the military movements to cope with the insurrection is published in the General Orders of the 31st of March, 1818, and reads as follows:

"Official reports having been received from Major Delatre, 1st Ceylon Regiment, Assistant Quarter Master General, dated Nalanda the 14th and Kornegalle the 27th instant, reporting his arrival at those places with the Corps under his command, the Commander of the Forces has great satisfaction in publishing to the Army the particulars of Major Delatre's arduous march from Trincomalee to Kornegalle, as reflecting the highest credit on that Officer and the gallant Troops under his Command.

"In pursuance of the General Orders of the 19th February, Major Delatre marched from Trincomalee for Kandy, with a Detachment of 100 Rank and File on the 2nd of March, and serious apprehensions being entertained for the safety of the small Post of Nalande, situated in the remote and populous District of

Matelle, discretionary powers were given to Major Delatre, on his arrival there to evacuate that position."

Nalanda, as most readers are aware, is a little town situated fifteen miles from Matale and the same distance from Dambulla. The place has from its important strategic position more than once proved its worth in the military history of Ceylon. From early days of British occupation Nalanda served as the most northerly outpost and stood on an elevation close to the hamlet of Peragahamada, which to this day is called Kotuwa Godella, where traces of its escarpments can still be picked out. Major Forbes, who wrote in 1841 after the post had been abandoned, states that "its small fort occupied the summit of a rocky hillock, and in situation as well as in salubrity too closely resembled many of the military positions which were originally occupied by the British troops in the Kandyan country." With this military outpost as objective Major Delatre set out on his march.

"Soon after his departure from Trincomalee," the General Orders continue to record, "Major Delatre began to experience all the difficulties attendant on a march in the low and swampy Country of Tambankadowa, during the season of rains, which commenced on his arrival at Kandella (Kantalai), and continued almost without intermission until he reached Nalande on the 14th, the distance being more than 96 miles."

"On entering the Province of Matelle the first indications of hostility were manifested by the road near Peycolam (near Minneriya) being partially obstructed and the Tappal Establishment there destroyed: but these demonstrations continued to encrease (sic) and at Gonava the passage of that River was disputed by the Rebels, who assembling on the opposite bank, attacked Major Delatre's advanced Guard, and continued to harass him by assailing his Flanks in large bodies, concealed in the Jungle, during four days from Gonava until within a few miles of Nalande, killing two and severely wounding Four of His Men, in addition to whom Major Delatre himself received a severe wound, from a Musket shot, in the right arm, which broke the bone, and unfortu . . . for the

Service in general and his Detachment in particular, deprived them of the services of their gallant and experienced Commander "

"The crippled state of this Corps, on its arrival at Nalande, with sick and wounded, and loss of Baggage, occasioned by the desertion of Bullock Drivers and Coolies, rendered it necessary for it to halt at that place for ten days, meanwhile the Flame of Rebellion having encreased (sic) induced Major Delatre to determine on withdrawing the Garrison of Nalande, and having ascertained that the Rebels, calculating on his continuing his march through Matelle by the Pass of Etgala on Kandy, had assembled in that direction, using every Effort by blocking up the Road to oppose his further progress—He therefore resolved on proceeding by the newly made road which turns the Haltawatte Pass, and leads direct to Kornegalle in the 7 Korles; and accordingly having dismantled the Post of Nalande, he marched from that place on the 24th and arrived on the 27th at Kornegalle, not however without experiencing considerable opposition, and sustaining the additional loss of Four Rank and File wounded, being encumbered also with the sick and wounded from Nalande, besides women and children belonging to that Garrison, and enfeebled as he himself was by the effects of his wound "

In these days of quick transport and easy communication, it is perhaps in a measure difficult to realise the fatigue and privations which were bound to have beset the march alluded to. The country was unopened, rivers were not bridged. Added to opposition by a hostile element who were acquainted with every feature of the country, the paths which the expedition traversed wound up precipitous mountains, inaccessible even under normal conditions to all but the most courageous and prudent. Transport was confined to bearers who were often prompted to desert rather than encounter such hardships and perils. There was no commissariat, no hospital organisation to hand.

Naturally under these circumstances, news came through very slowly, and even that all important hub of military campaign—

KANDY—THE HILL CAPITAL OF CEYLON.



Army Headquarters during the Uva Rebellion.

Army Headquarters, was very often left quite long in ignorance of the movements of troops. Army Headquarters was at this time located in Kandy. It is interesting enough as an indication of the tardy arrival of news, even with the scene of activities not many miles away from Kandy, to quote from the same order previously drawn on:

"No information being received at Head Quarters of Major Delatre's proceedings, and much apprehension being entertained for the state of things in Matelle, it was determined to open the Communication with Nalande from Kandy, and accordingly a Corps of 100 Rank and File under Captain Raper of the 19th Regiment marched from Etgale at midnight of the 27th ultimo (sic) but so great was the obstruction given to the road by the Insurgents, for Major Delatre's expected march, particularly in the Etgale Pass, that Captain Raper did not reach the bottom of the formidable mountain until Day Light (sic) on the following morning, and having still 20 miles to march to Nalande, the collected Numbers of the Rebels attacked him throughout his progress with unusual perseverance killing two and wounding six Rank and File and two of his coolies."

"On reaching Nalande at 7 o'Clock the same evening, and finding the Post evacuated, Captain Raper took post on the Hill where it stood, and having made his men cook and refresh themselves until 12 o'Clock that night, he recommenced his march back for Kandy, bearing away his wounded, and reached the bottom of the Etgale Pass at 7 the following evening; unable to penetrate further, encumbered as he was with wounded; he remained in the Pass during the night, and then forced his way through numerous Insurgents posted on the commanding Precipices to assail him, and reached the Fort of Etgale about 8 o'Clock."

Major Delatre is mentioned in two other orders which were issued soon after the events narrated. One records the pleasure it has afforded the Commander of the Forces to appoint him to "Command in the Seven Korles and Tompohane," and incidentally notifies the appointment of Lieutenant Murphy as "Staff Officer

to Major Delatre, with the pay of 10s a day;" the other, dated a fortnight later replaces him in that command by Lieut. Col. Hook, of the 19th Regiment "in consequence of the severe wound received by Major Delatre..."

By an order issued much later, the Major was appointed Deputy Commissary General in Ceylon from the 1st of January 1819, in accordance with an arrangement whereby the Commissariat of the Kandyan Provinces was consolidated with that of the maritime districts under one officer.

Lewis, in his valuable compilation "Tombstone and Monuments in Ceylon," chronicles the inscriptions on memorials erected to two of this officer's sons who died in Ceylon, and mentions that a daughter of Major Philip de Latre, spelling the name in this manner, married at Kandy, in 1822, Lieut. Samuel Braybrooke, who was afterwards a Colonel commanding the Ceylon Rifles, and a General

"Braybrooke Place," links up this glimpse into the past and associates it with one of the well known thoroughfares of Colombo

CHAPTER II.

The Military Organisation and the centres from which operations were conducted.

IN addition to the considerable force which was available in the Island when the "Uva Rebellion" broke out, it was either found necessary to call for further reinforcements or considered necessary by the authorities to send out additional troops to meet a crisis where much was at stake.

It is apparent from the Orders of the 5th of April, 1818, that such was the case, and by that date, "the whole of the reinforcements so generously and liberally furnished in the first instance by the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, in aid of the efforts making to subdue a daring and wicked Rebellion in the Kandyan Provinces, had arrived."

The General Order which embodies this information proceeds to record: "The Lieutenant General cannot but congratulate himself on the efficient force thus afforded, consisting of the Hon'ble the East India Company's 1st Battalion of the 15th Regiment Native Infantry, and of 5 Companies of the 2nd Battalion of the 7th Regiment, the whole commanded by Major Limond, and the Commander of the Forces desires Major Limond, and the Officers and Soldiers under his command may be assured, that he shall be proud to take every occasion to do justice to the zeal and bravery he is persuaded they will display in support of His Majesty's interests in Ceylon, and that every attention possible will be paid to their accommodation and comfort."

The military strength was further augmented by a detachment of H. M. 59th Foot and a Brigade of Sepoys, brought over from Calcutta, and by a detachment of H. M. 86th Foot and a Brigade of Sepoys which arrived as a later reinforcement from Madras.

The five Companies of the 2nd Battalion of the 7th Regiment which arrived, "complete in all respects, ready to march", were by an order of the same date from which the previous extract was drawn, detailed to, "be held in readiness to proceed immediately for Kornegalle in the 7 Korles according to a route from the Deputy Quarter Master General..."

Three Companies of the 15th Regiment were similarly ordered, "to be held in readiness to march from Colombo for the Interior as soon as the necessary means of Conveyance for their Camp Equipage shall have arrived at Colombo." They were to be, "equally distributed at each of the Stations of Ruwanweylle in the 3 Korles, Atapetia in the 4 Korles, and Amanapoora in the District of Yatanoora, ...each man to be provided with 35 Rounds of Ball Cartridge and two good Flints."

It might be remarked in passing that the districts referred to were divisions of the ancient Kandyan Kingdom, the two former comprising to day portions of the Kegalle District. The Three Korales is sufficiently located by the reference to its main station and fort—Ruwanwella, and to the north and east of it there lay the division called the Four Korales

The post at Attapitiya, "the station of the accredited Agent of Government of the Four Korales," was better known as Fort King, named after the builder—Captain King R. S. C. who planned and superintended the erection of its works in 1817. After the military were withdrawn from the division many years later, the Civil Agent of Government moved to Utuwankanda, and later to Kegalle.

Amunupura, situated on the old route from Colombo to the mountain capital, was eight miles from Fort King and twelve miles from Kandy. A description of its situation suggests that the fort stood, "on the top of a precipitous hill, about two thousand feet above the level of the sea...with a cantonment, consisting of officers' and soldiers' barracks at the foot of the hill"

It was expected that the appearance of so formidable an addition of troops would effectively serve to put down the rising which was only partially manifested in the districts referred to.

Before examining the several references in the General Orders to the actual movements of the troops to cope with the revolt it would be appropriate to detail the various centres from which the operations were conducted and the officers who were in command of them.

Lieut. Col. Hook, it has been previously remarked, had moved up from Walapane in the District of Nuwera Eliya and had taken over command of, "the Seven Korles and Tompohane".

Lieut. Col. Cother, C. B., and Lieut. Col. Kelly, were commanding in "Saffragam" (Ratnapura) and Kandy, respectively. In "Ouva and Wellasse" where the insurrection was originally stirred into flame, and over which it raged at its very worst, Major MacDonald was in command. Major Hext, C.B., was in charge of operations in "Doombera," and Major Limond, in the Three Korales, with centre at Ruwanwella.

On the 5th of May, 1818, Lieut. Col. Hook and Captain Hardy, moved from Kurunegala with two strong parties, the former advancing by the "Pilicada Pass" on to a spot referred to as "Pilasse" in the Orders from which these movements are summarised; the latter marching directly on "Delwita" and "Mal-miwala". On a few shots being fired, the rebels who opposed Captain Hardy's progress fled. It was supposed that Pilama Talawa himself narrowly escaped capture on this occasion and that he fled to the mountains, for three of his elephants were taken.

Lieut. Col. Hook, continued his march over the rugged and difficult "Pass of Ikiriwatte" encountering obstructions of batteries and trees across the road, and dispersing from time to time parties of rebels. On the 7th, he crossed the second ridge of hills and entered Delwita which was occupied by Captain Hardy's detachment.

While Captain Hardy remained in this position to watch the movements of the rebels in the adjoining Province, Lt Col Hook reconnoitred and found the small pass known as "Hunugalkadula" strongly blocked up with batteries and thorn gates by order of Udalla pola Mohottala, whose property in the neighbourhood was in consequence immediately destroyed. The same afternoon, the 8th, he marched his troops back to Kurunegala.

Subsequent reports speak of a general tone of tranquility prevailing to the southward and westward of Kurunegala, and of the road to Colombo being quite free from all interruptions. Yet, apparently it was soon discovered that there was trouble brooding at the very door of the principal post in the Seven Korales.

On June the 16th, two *durayas* gave information of the treasonable practices of one Mawatigama Nilama, who had by threats and force prevented the inhabitants from making known their complaints to Government, and was himself at Wandurugala temple with his followers preparing to join the rebels.

Lieut Murphy was sent on the 18th at night, with a small party of picked men. They completely surprised the Nilama and took him prisoner with twenty of his people.

He was tried before a Court Martial, convicted on the clearest evidence, and sentenced to be hanged.

There would appear to have been two reasons which induced Lt Col Hook to consider this traitor as the proper subject for a severe example, and to carry out his sentence almost immediately.

For one, the Chiefs were, it may almost be said, the sole instigators of the rising. For the other, it was considered by him that only drastic severity would deter more of them from a similar crime. The execution of one headman, so this officer summarised, was more likely to produce a lesson than the slaughter of a hundred of their followers, whose death these instigators were believed to have regarded with the most callous indifference.

The military activities in the Three and Four Korales merely concentrated on one attempt made by the insurgents to rouse the people between the 16th and 22nd of July, 1818

Acting on rumour that a large hostile force had collected on the borders of this division, "burning the houses and putting the inhabitants to death," Lieut Dobbin, proceeded in accordance with a prearranged plan, "by a route on the east side of Moratu Kanda, and near Udagama he surprised a large body of rebels amounting as he conjectured to five or six hundred "

It would appear that the hostile force, "had no earlier notice of his approach than his fire on their guard ' Ten were killed and two taken, the rest, "thought of nothing but saving themselves by flight ' "

The people themselves of the Four Korales who were under the immediate rule of Molligoda Adigar—no friend of the rebellion, assisted by cutting off some of the fugitives, and, ' took from them a curious ammunition box made of the trunk of a Jaggeree tree, containing about 400 cartridges ' "

Reports make it clear, that Kappitipola commanded these rebels and that the pretender had returned back from Kotmale towards Uva. Moreover, rumour had it that Kappitipola himself, despite the special facilities he had for hatching treason in the area which was his native district, had failed to undermine the allegiance of the people to the British Government, and that he had taken retreat in the Seven Korales

But apparently the difficulties of operating for the entire suppression of the rebellion were beginning about this time to make themselves felt. It was evidently found necessary that more definite action would have to be resorted to. The change, as also a summary of the present state of affairs, is given expression to in a Proclamation issued on August 21st, 1818. Despite its verbiage, it is interesting enough after a lapse of time, and is copied as it appeared in the Army Orders a few days later —

CEYLON'S FOOT-HILLS.



Typical country over which most of the skirmishes and marches were carried out. Deep wooded gorges, terraced rice-fields, edged by soft-blue ranges of distant mountains.

“The people of Ouva Wellassy in which the Rebellion commenced, having felt the evil consequences of their folly and wickedness, have repented, and with very few exceptions implored forgiveness from Government. The people of Weyeloowa are doing the same, the few of the Province of Saffragam, who dared to stir up rebellion in that loyal Country, are dismayed and wish to submit; excepting a few evil-minded persons, the People of the Seven Corles are all attached to the Government of the King of England, from which they derive benefit; the loyal and distinguished Chiefs and Poople of Oodanoora, Yattennoora, the 4 and 3 Corles, have remained faithful—such being the case, the Governor is also informed that the greater number of the Kandyan People in other Districts having learnt by experience that resistance is useless, and only produces ruin to themselves, are desirous to return to obedience, but are prevented by the influence and threats of those Rebel Chiefs, who are conscious they themselves cannot expect Pardon, and therefore tell the People that they will also be not forgiven.”

“The Governor having considered these things for the last time gives Publick (sic) Notice and Proclamation, that Pardon will be extended to all Persons, who shall appear before the Officers of Government in the different Districts and making submission request mercy; and shall on appearance deliver up faithfully and without concealment, their Fire Arms, Gun Powder, Balls and Sulphur—But these submissions can only be received on or before the 20th day of September next, by which time a powerful body of Troops will arrive from the Continent of India, at Colombo, Galle or Trincomalee; after the date of landing of which Troops, no Man of any degree who has joined in the rebellion can expect forgiveness—any Man who shall after having appeared, and received pardon, either before or after this date be discovered to possess Fire Arms, unless he has received a written permission for that purpose will be considered as still a Rebel, and punished with Death, or at the discretion of His Excellency imprisoned at hard labour, at some Station in the Maritime Provinces.”

Those persons whose Names stand Proclaimed as Rebels in former Proclamations, and who are still in Rebellion, are excepted from the full Pardon hereby held out—If they surrender voluntarily, their lives will be spared, and they will suffer no bodily punishment."

"Given at Kandy, this Twenty First day of August, One Thousand, Eight Hundred, and Eighteen."

"By His Excellency's Command
Sgd GEO. LUSIGNAN,
Sec. for Kandyan Provinces."

CHAPTER, III.

Guerilla Warfare in the Matale foot-hills and forays on the plains of Anuradhapura.

DESPITE the amnesty offered by the Proclamation of the 21st of August, 1818, opposition which led to a harassing guerilla warfare continued on the frontiers of Matale and over the greater portion of Uva.

Pilama Talawa, who was very active in the former sector, had erected a number of batteries to defend the passage of the Doduru Oya and had continued the work for some miles into the country.

Hearing of this, Lieut. Wright, commanding at Wariyapola, together with Lieut. Lloyd and a half Company, marched to Tunmodera. They found that the batteries stood on the right bank of the river and that a large rebel force had taken their station in them. The left bank was steep and the path down the river so narrow that only one man could pass at a time.

Lieut. Lloyd led the advance boldly down the path, and as they appeared at the water's edge, a cross fire opened upon them. There was no possibility of sending the wounded men to the rear as the narrow passage was completely blocked by the rest who were coming down. Consequently, picking up the wounded—Lieut. Lloyd himself carrying one of them on his back; the party dashed across making for the opposite bank in the face of the fire directed at them.

Several of the batteries were carried by this bold movement, while many others were abandoned as the insurgents fled in disorder leaving the killed and wounded behind.

Lieut. Wright following in pursuit discovered that the batteries formed a continuous chain for a distance of several miles from Tunmodera. Penetrating as far as Ambegassewewa, he destroyed all the works he came up against, wasted the country and returned to Wariyapola.

Pilama Talawa—so the prisoners said, had gone off some days before towards the Wann and Matale, leaving three thousand men to defend his new works which were thus ruthlessly destroyed in a few hours.

However, with the rebel Chiefs and many of their followers still at large, and since all palliatives seemed to have failed, it is as well to remember that the general pardon extended by the proclamation terminated on the 20th of September. Activities were accordingly confined to making preparations for a more rigorous campaign—if the operations could be dignified by such a name.

The General Order which unfolds the distribution of the troops and the details of the marches in this connection is dated to coincide with the termination of the amnesty. The organisation in the main consisted of the formation of three divisions to be drawn from the garrison of Kandy. Each of these divisions was composed of units from the Royal Engineers, the Royal Artillery and the Regiments of Foot, together with a meagre representation of Medical Staff and a liberal complement of "Armed Moormen" (See Appendix I.)

They were to march from Kandy on the morning of the 22nd September, crossing the "Mahā Villā Ganga into Harispattoe and Doombera"—two of the division by way of the "Wataploga" ford, the other by way of Lewella.

On crossing the river, the 1st and 2nd divisions were to proceed on different routes, respectively "halting at Akurena in Harispattoe, and at Etgalle in Doombera, and resuming their march on the following day to Matelle, there to act in co operation with a Corps under Lt. Col. Hook, from the 7 Korals, and one under the command of Lieutenant Sweeting, Deputy Assist Quarter Master General, advancing from Trincomalee . . . "

The 3rd division under the command of Lieut. Dobbin was to march on "Taldeniya, in Doombera, and there take post."

Each man was provided with "40 Rounds of Ammunition, and two spare Flints," while provision was also made by the same

Order for "3000 Rounds of Ammunition and 160 Flints to be packed for carriage by Coolies," as a reserve supply for each division.

It would perhaps not be out of the way to recall that there was no such thing as Khaki cotton clothing for the Army in the year 1818, and no sun helmets. The wisdom which evolved clothing and protection to suit a tropical climate was unfortunately undreamt of in those days.

So, apparently when the troops set out, they wore white drill covers over shako or foraging caps and marched "without their Packs, taking with them, one clean Shirt, one pair of Woolen (sic) Trowsers, their Cumblies, and the Europeans—one pair of good Shoes packed in their Haversacks."

The subsequent proceedings might perhaps be presented in the words of the Commander of the Forces who "deems it proper to record in the General Orders of the Army a brief detail of the movements of the Troops," and publishes the following account under date the 4th October, 1818.

"The day originally fixed for the movement from both districts was on the 20th ultimo, but the heavy rains in the neighbourhood rendered it impossible for Troops to move from Kandy till the 22nd, on which day the 1st and 2nd Divisions . . . marched, one under the personal Command of Lieut. Colonel Kelly to Atgalle, and the other under Captain Glenholme, 73rd Regiment, to Akurenne. The Detachments on the next day entered Matele, the former over the Atgalle Pass, to Panagam, and the latter over the Ballukadewa Pass to Owille; no opposition was experienced by either Division, for the impression made on the minds of the Inhabitants had operated entirely to prevent their adherence to the nearly desperate cause of the factious Chief, Pelime Talawa."

"The Force from the 7 Korles entered on the 20th ultimo, also in two Divisions, one commanded by Lieut. Colonel Hook, over the Bandewatte Pass to Ambetiawe in the Asgiri Korle, and the other under Captain Jackson of the H. C. (Honb'le. Company's) 7th

Regiment, N I over the Millawa Pass, to Paldenia in the Oodoo godde Korle On the 22nd, Lieut Col Hook detached Lieut Durnford, 19th Regt, to Alliwehare, with 70 Rank and File, over the long and rugged Pass Burdiawella, who, on approaching the Wehare, heard Tom Toms beating, and pushing on, a Rebel was wounded, carrying off a Gingal, which was the only firing which took place—Hanasgedera Mohottale, who had assumed the Title of Dessave, flying from the Village, where he had been endeavouring to raise the people to opposition, Lieut Durnford returned to Ambetiawe, and thence Lieut Col. Hook, having sent another Detachment under Captain Hardy, by Alliwehare on the main road from Kandy to join him at Nallande, advanced himself to Paldenia on the 23rd and on the 24th reached Nallande, from whence he pushed on the same day to Melpittia, 7 miles N. N W and next morning (25th) to Dambul Wehare, about 14 miles further North "

Meanwhile, " Lieut Col Kelly having examined the site of the former Field Work in the neighbourhood of Panagam directed its being cleared to be reoccupied. he then proceeded on the 26th to Nallande. "

Panagam, to which reference has often been made, was the site of a Post called Fort MacDowall, named after the Commander of the Forces who is credited to have been Governor North's "confidential friend and ill adviser" It was situated about eighteen miles north of Kandy and might be pictured as the usual type of refuge erected in early British times to hold up a line of communication

The tragic circumstances under which the Post came to be abandoned carries its story back fifteen years, and recalls a memorable morning—the 24th of June 1803, when within the briefest possible space, not one British soldier was left within the Kandyan territory.

At this time Fort MacDowall was held by Captain Mudge and a small detachment under his command Perhaps this force was the first to be apprised of the surprise attack on the garrison of

Kandy, of the armed force of thousands of Kandians which had swept down from the surrounding hills and assailed Major Davie's troops in garrison at Kandy. May be, they had heard how Major Davie was taken captive, how his soldiers were persuaded to give up their arms, how the Malays were made prisoners, and how the British officers and men were led two by two into a hollow out of sight of their comrades—one only escaping to tell the fate of his companions.

Inflamed by a bloody triumph, conscious of the impregnability of their natural defences, the Kandians were sweeping down in hordes on the smaller posts. Little wonder that Captain Madge "spiked his gun, abandoned his sick and with great difficulty succeeded in bringing off his men to Trincomalee."

But getting back to sequence, it would appear that when Lieut. Col. Kelly reached "Nallandy" he entertained some doubt on the advisability of restoring this more recently abandoned fort. Consequently, he left Captain Hardy to examine and report on what he considered a more advantageous position for a permanent post in the vicinity, while he marched his force down "to Dambul Wehare by the route of Nawelle, to superintend the movement to Amaragepoora, (the celebrated collection of Buduhoo Temples in Nuwara Kalawege) of a light Detachment ordered to proceed thither under the command of Captain Fraser . . . and which consisted of two Subalterns, Lieut. O'Neil and Ensign O'Brien."

"The object of Captain Fraser's march was, by obtaining possession of that venerated spot, the ancient Capital of the Kingdom, to prevent delusion being spread from thence by the still obstinate Chiefs, who had rumoured among the people, a True Scion of the Royal Stock had been brought thither from the Coast of Coromandel. It was well-known that Pileme Talawa and his adherents had retreated there from Dambul Wehare, and though their capture by surprise (sic) was hardly to be looked by the most sanguine, the consequences of driving them from their horde (sic) of Provisions, in a desolate country, were obviously of impc ' expectation."

"Captain Fraser, bearing both these objects in mind, marched the first day (he set out on the morning of the 28th September) to Nikanawa, distance 16 miles, at which it was intended he should have left a part of his Detachment to keep up Communication, but finding the people well inclined, Captain Fraser judged it more expedient to carry on his whole strength and by a rapid movement attempt to seize the factious Chiefs assembled at the place of his ultimate destination ' "

"He accordingly marched from Nikanawa (Kekirawa) at 6 a m of the 29th, and halted a few hours at Mandanewa (Maradankadawela) at a distance of $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and thence moved at 1 p m to Tenepane (Tirappane) 10 miles further which the Detachment reached at 5 p m There Captain Fraser left his provisions and baggage in charge of Lieut O Neil and half his Corps, and moved on with Ensign O'Brien and the remainder at 9 p m towards Amarajapooru ' "

"When the Detachment had advanced 5 miles they perceived Lights, and secured three persons who were carrying them and had then to endeavour to out strip one who had escaped, by whom the Alarm would be given to the assembled Rebels, and by extraordinary exertion they reached the borders of the large Tank of the village Nugere at 4 in the morning of the 30th having then marched during the night 15 miles, making nearly 34 miles traversed in less than 24 hours, and were only discovered after passing the Tank, the road lying through it for a mile, and having entered the limits of Amarajapooru, when the screams of Chool bearers (Torch bearers) spread the Alarm, and Pileme Talawa who had been in the Wehare $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant escaped with as far as is known the other Chiefs leaving 93 Stand of Arms found at first and many others after, two new Gingals, a Quantity of Powder, Salt Petre and numerous other Military Stores, besides Provisions in Rice and Salt and preparations which plainly indicated an attempt to prop the falling Cause of Rebellion, by display of a new Pretender ' "

CHAPTER, IV.

Impressions from the Province of Uva.

PASSING over to Uva, where the Rebellion originally broke out, a very different situation presents itself. The movement of troops over an open and rugged country which dropped from the Nuwara Eliya mountain-ranges into rolling down-lands, or which stretched from the foot of nature's precipitous ramparts which girdles Upper Uva into an unknown, forest-clad and fever-laden plain, was a much more difficult proposition from that of conducting operations in the districts of Matale, Dumbara or the Seven Korales.

The advantages gained in this sector were but transient. A protracted warfare conducted from small military posts established throughout the country, and by detached parties in continual motion pursuing an armed population, who had the advantage of knowing every inch of the mountains and woods, was, as would be expected, productive of considerable loss to the British forces. Apart from this aspect, it is on record that for as many as fell by the weapons of the insurgents, very many more were carried away by privation and exposure to an unhealthy climate.

One of the most notable forts constructed in Uva was that near the village of Paranagama. Very few would venture to visit this spot for it lies on the mountain-slopes, many miles to the east of the motorable road which meanders down, skirting the craggy heights of Hakgala.

A grass-covered hill-top of gentle ascent, not half a mile from where the fort was later erected, is pointed out even to this day by those who live in tradition as the venue of a stirring event during the insurrection.

On this exposed height, it is said Lieut Colonel MacDonald, with a party composed of sixty rank and file, repelled the attacks of seven or eight thousand Kandyans who continued under the leadership of the Chief Kappitipola to assail them for eight days

It was by way of commemorating this gallant stand that the Commander of the Forces was pleased to name the post ' Fort MacDonald

One of the officers associated with MacDonald in this valiant defence was Lieut Gerrard Fretz—who many years later was himself in command at Fort MacDonald. When at this station he met with a remarkable accident. Even at the cost of a digression, the strange tale allures retelling as narrated by Major Forbes

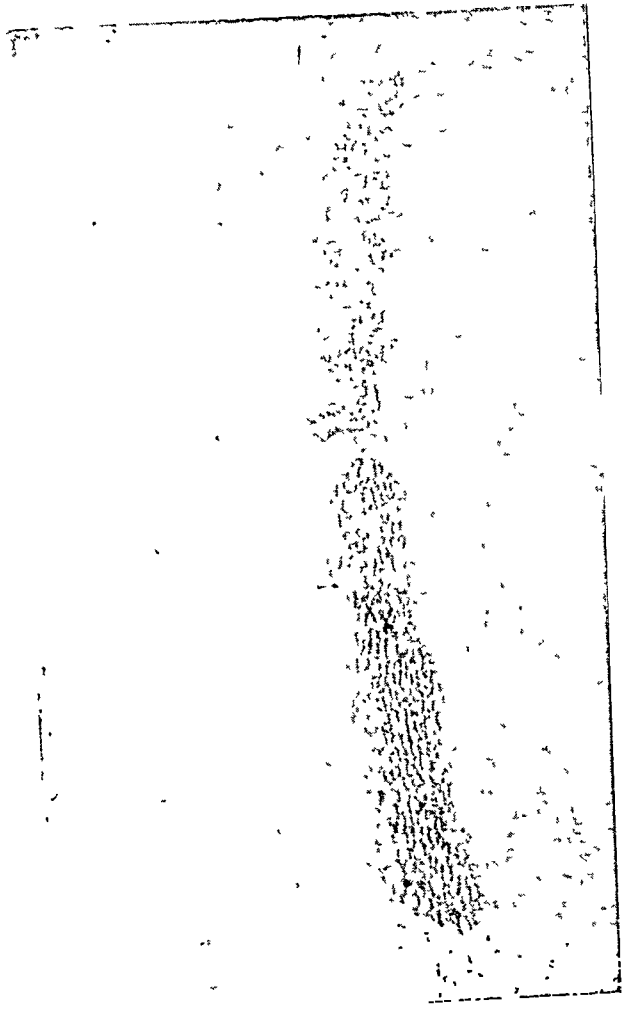
" Whilst out shooting at an elephant, the gun burst and the *end of the barrel, with a long screw nail across* was driven into his forehead. This lump of metal could not be (at least was not) removed, and Mr Fretz continued after a partial recovery to do his duty, although a large place, over which he wore a patch, always remained open between his eyebrows

It would appear that he died eight years after the accident occurred, and the narrator goes on to tell that ' After his death it was ascertained that the upper part of this lump of metal (which weighed two ounces and three quarters) had destroyed part of the skull behind the left eye, and that the place was filled up by a strong membrane the lower end of the iron projected through the palate, and rested on the tongue the screw nail was across the bone of the nose. Notwithstanding these severe injuries and the warm climate, his health seemed little impaired, his eyesight was not affected, and his last illness—inflammation of the brain, lasted but three days *

But to get back to Fort MacDonald—although still bearing this name which perhaps affords a measure of curiosity to those who pick it out on the topographical map of the area, its outer walls of earth and stone work turned up by the roots of huge trees and buried in thick chena, offer very little impression of the shape or size of the strong hold

* Tennent tells much the same story and adds that a cast of the breech and screw now forms No 2790 amongst the deposits at the Medical Museum of Chatham

KOTUGODELLA FORT.



An impressive monument of the struggles of early British occupation.

However, standing within the battered and hidden remnants of the walls, amid a group of trees, is a building on which the imaginative have an opportunity of speculating. Once part of the fort, later a resthouse and a shooting-box, it has passed through many vicissitudes and now offers shelter to the Government official who may happen to wander over this roadless region.

The Fort of Himbleatawela, or to give it a name by which it is easily identified—Dehiwinna, was from its great height and situation considered a primary post. A belief, which has become a legend in the district, claims that every other fort established in this theatre was visible from its lofty position, and urges that from this post, "they used to talk one with the other in a strange way."

Its parapets of stone and earthwork continue to stand out as a land-mark on the open patnas above the summit of Ettampitiya Pass.

It would appear that the two forts alluded to, in common with one at Kotabowa and another at Alupotha, were in occupation for some time after the rebellion.

Kotabowa, in the back-blocks of Bintenna, is described by Major Davy who took part in the campaign, as "a considerable moor-village." The same writer offers such impressions as picture the fortified post "surrounded by a low breast-work, with a ditch inside...situated on a plain skirting the village."

"The quarters of the officers and men," he adds, "were made of a frame-work of stakes, lined and covered over with paddy straw."

But there is another aspect of this out-post which affords illustration, if such is wanting, of the lamentable toll paid to an insalubrious climate where disease was certain and fatal. Of two hundred and fifty Europeans in the vicinity of Kotabowa Fort, between the 11th of July, 1818, and the 20th of October of the same year, only two escaped disease, and of those attacked by the endemic fever about two hundred died, including five officers.

Happily the two who escaped this universal sickness were the Officer in charge and the Doctor. To show that references testify to the trying conditions under which the post was held and the gallant effort put forward to this end, it is only necessary to draw on an extract from the General Orders of the 22nd November, 1818

"But no effort of the Lieut-General's pen," it reads, "can enable him to express in adequate terms, his admiration of the conduct of Captain Ritchie of the 73rd Regiment, who has commanded in the District of Wellasse since the month of May, exposed to difficulties of the most trying nature, arising from an alarming and extensive sickness which raged from the most fatal consequences to the Troops under his command, and which would have warranted Capt. Ritchie at any time in withdrawing the Post of Kattabowa."

"But this officer's mind, superior to all selfish considerations, resolved notwithstanding the daily havock (sic) which disease was making, both among Officers and Men, to keep his ground, as well to maintain the important line of communication with the Batticaloa District as to protect and preserve in steady loyalty the Moorish Inhabitants of Wellasse "

".. Nor can the Lieut General pass in silence the meritorious services of Assistant Surgeon Hoatson, of the 1st Ceylon Regiment, who alone had the charge of the accumulated numbers assailed by fatal sickness, with which the post of Kattabowa was unhappily visited—the laborious and unceasing exercise of his professional talents afford a distinguished example of fortitude in the cause of humanity, and entitles Mr Hoatson to the general applause of the Army "

The Alutpotha Fort was situated in the foot-hills overlooking the plain which stretched to the coast-line on the south and east of the Island. It was until the year 1836 the headquarters of a sub-agency and the residence of an Assistant Government Agent. The stronghold, built on a hill-top, was the principal military station of Lower Uva in the days of the rebellion.

It afforded control over a steep and important mountain-pass which gave access to the low-country, and a story current in the neighbourhood tells of a gigantic breast-work termed in the vernacular a "kada-watta," which was thrown across this pass a mile or two below the fort.

But apart from this special characteristic which assigned to Alupotha a measure of importance, it perhaps also maintained an out-look and kept up communication with the scattered camps over the jungle-covered region which stretched out to Hambantota.

In picking out some of the spots where troops were stationed in this out-of-the-way corner, there rises up with such gleanings many a picture of grim tragedy.

On the 13th of January, 1818, Lieut. John MacLaine was proceeding "to Bootala from Alipoot" with a reinforcement of thirty men for the former camp. While traversing a patch of thick jungle, on horseback, he was fired upon.

"A shot struck him upon the lower lip and taking a rising direction to his head he fell dead upon the spot. . . One private was also killed and two wounded."

While the above reference suggests that there was a post at Buttala, another notice which has a pathetic appeal points to a camp in the heart of the densest jungle of the Uva Province. In recording the death of Lieut. Samuel Roberts, at the age of 21, the reference adds the information that he fell a victim to "Fever caught at Kataragam, where he commanded."

There are few drearier and more desolate-looking places than the secluded hamlet of Kataragam. Yet, apparently the presence of a Detachment there was of considerable importance.

For one reason, its sylvan shrine, dedicated to the god of war and sanctified by tradition as a remarkable place of worship and pilgrimage in Ceylon, was not unlikely to be made a rendezvous. For another it was on the old-time line of communication with the primary station at Hambantota. Consequently it is not surprising

that at the outbreak of the rebellion, Major Coxon marched to Kataragam and with the approbation of the authorities of its temple, stationed forty men and two native officers there.

There is yet another aspect of this military post at Kataragam—hot and veritably panting in the drought, clay-like and clinging in the rain—which pictures it as a benign resort for Seapoy invalids! Records show that it shared this extraordinary reputation with the “Palitoo-pane Fort,” which was always garrisoned by an invalid company of the Ceylon Rifle Corps.

Palatupane, as we call it today, stands on the fringe of the sanctuary on the south-eastern coast reserved for the protection of game. Considerable remains of the Fort, much overgrown with jungle, are yet in evidence, and as a measure of interest to anybody who should wander over these remains and speculate on its eventful history, it might be recalled that the foundations of the fortification were laid by Governor Brownrigg “One bastion of which was ready to receive two guns.”

Quitting the plains and back in the mountains once again, there are vestiges of a fort not counted among the more notable, *near the village of Kalupahana, off the 100th mile post on the road from Colombo to Haldumulla*. The broken sections of its quadrangular wall of stone remain as a typical example of the type of rampart which later replaced hedges, rifle pits or temporary breast work in the early British campaigns.

Nevertheless, something much more unique in this line are the characteristics of a hill-fort, not far from Kalupahana, perched on a conspicuous patana knoll overlooking the townlet of Haldumulla.

It is called today Katugodella—a corruption no doubt, of Kotugodella which might be taken to mean “The high land with the fort.” On three sides of it the steep hill falls sheer away from the earth-work thrown up to form its walls which terminate in a bastion at each corner. The general construction, which differs widely from the usual type, suggests

much time and labour spent on it. In consequence, the works are comparatively in perfect repair.

Whether this relic of the past is an impressive monument of the struggles of early British occupation, or a vestige which has survived the destructive forces of enemy and nature from even an earlier period, remains a matter for speculation.

Strangely, as far as the writer is aware, no reference to this particular fort may be traced in available records—yet, obviously, even if it be of Portuguese origin, its commanding situation, added to its position abutting on the old road into Uva by way of the Idalgashena Pass, could not have failed to impress its advantages on the British and to have claimed re-occupation in the troublous days of the rebellion.

There are still many folk living in the villages which nestle on the hillsides of Uva who can recall tales told them by those who participated in the rebellion. Naturally all these first-hand traditionalists rank in a class which might aptly be described as belonging to a toothless old age.

At the best of times they are rambling story-tellers. Add to this the handicap of a memory tangled into a jig-saw puzzle by hard conditions of life, and there is little hope of much enlightenment from this source.

However, very often, chance helped by a peculiar name or a leading question, drags out some information connecting a spot with a long forgotten story. As an illustration in point there is the traditional tale which is evolved from the quaint name Balun-gala.

Now, Balun-gala is a hill-top near a village called Bulliyadda in the rugged and picturesque valley of the Uma Oya. It means: "a stone from which look-out was kept," and merely by this quaint name, tradition recalls an occupied and isolated redoubt of which nothing tangible remains.

With just such a spark to kindle recollection, many strange theories follow. One veteran declares that

being told that the hill top was occupied by a terrible company of Java beef eaters, who made free with the village buffaloes ! Another, that he is sure he could point out the very spot where two white men who were in charge are said to have had their house

In proof of the particular location which tradition gives to the temporary barracks occupied by the Malay Sepoys, some of these village grandfathers will pick out bits of china and pottery half embedded in the earth, while one and all of them insist, if further proof of the existence of a post on this bleak spot be required, that the well of which traces remain in a ravine nearby is known even today as "Java kapu linda," or in other words "The well cut by the Malays"

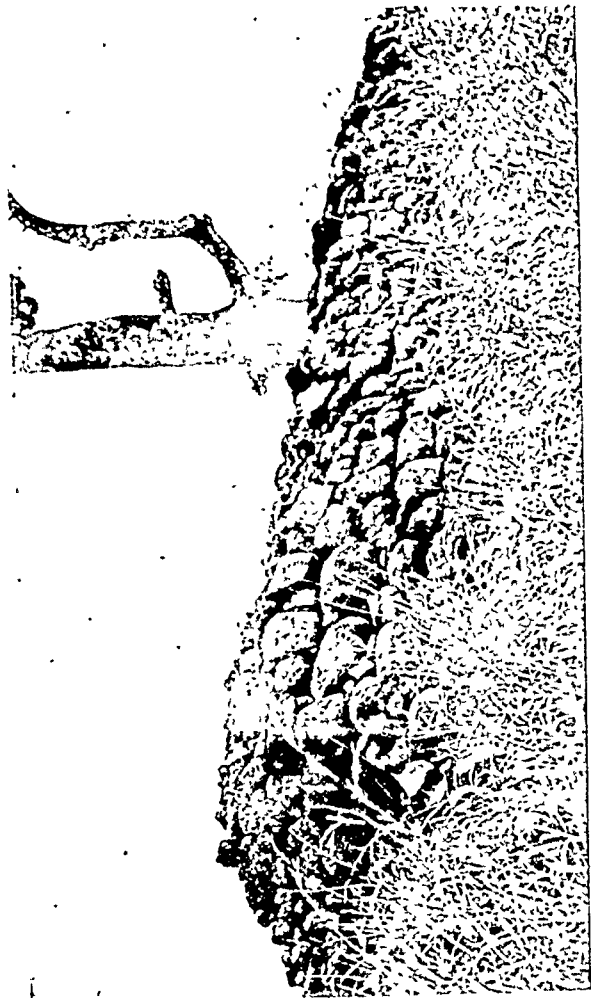
Leading questions and the appealing details of a recorded story generally help in the quest of identifying a spot commemorating a particular incident connected with the past. Going about it on these lines, the village historian adds interest to the narrative concerning the tragic end of Surgeon James Kennedy, of the 1st Ceylon Regiment, which is localised near the village of Madulla, a few miles further down the Uma Oya valley

This officer and a small military party which accompanied him, probably Caffres, found themselves ambushed at this place by a host of rebels who kept up a fire of matchlocks on them from their hiding place. Rather foolishly, while the enemy was concealed, the military party were lavish with their ammunition without producing any effect. But as their fire slackened the Kandyan gradually closed in, and when the last of the cartridges of the unfortunate party was expended, and several lay dead and disabled, the ambushed forces rushed in to complete their destruction.

Major Forbes, who hands this story down to posterity, adds that, "To one of the leaders, Kewlygeddra Mohattai, Mr Kennedy surrendered his sword, and the savage, seizing it by the handle, stabbed him to the heart."

"When he was at last secured and placed on his trial, he pleaded in mitigation of the crimes charged against him, that he

A SECTION OF THE KALUPAHANA FORT.



*A typical example of the type of rampart built by
the British during the Uva Rebellion.*

had complied with the British officer's, Mr. Kennedy's, last request (which he seemed to think somewhat capricious and inexplicable), viz: that of being put to death by his own sword."

"Kewlygeddra said he discovered the wish of the officer by his delivering the handle of the sword, while he held the point turned towards himself. This defence did not avail, for sentence of death and immediate execution were the reward of crimes which had rendered this miscreant equally obnoxious to the British Government and his own fellow-countrymen."

Glancing over the other details of the story, the reader is given the impression that this rebel was a minor headman and a most persevering leader, of a ferocious disposition, and a criminal who had escaped from the gaol at Kandy, in which he was confined, charged with the murder of a fellow-villager.

Yet another fascinating story, on which those who cherish daring deeds would love to dwell, is associated with a spot in the village of Rambukpottha, a few miles out of Badulla on the road to Passara.

On the 16th of June, 1818, Lieut. Wilkinson, who had marched up a detachment of the Hon'ble Company's 18th Native Infantry, halted at Passara, where, it might incidentally be mentioned, a fort had been established "on a steep hill...above a torrent, commanding a view of the valley."

From this post, he sent a party consisting of "six Europeans, six Malays, and six Caffres," into Badulla, to announce the arrival of the main body of the troops.

"This small party was beset about midway (sic) by a horde of rebels in a thick jungle, who fired on the party from their concealment, killing two soldiers of the L. I. of the 73rd (Privates James Sutherland and William Chandler) on the spot, and immediately showing themselves in numbers around this little band of brave soldiers whom they no doubt considered a certain prey; but regardless of their menaces, and faithful to their fallen comrades, ten of

these gallant men encompassed the dead bodies of their brother soldiers, while Corporal McLaughlin, with the remaining five, fought their way to Badulla about two miles distance, through some hundred Kandyans, to report the situation of the detachment they had left surrounded by so immense and disproportionate a force, in conflict with which they remained for two hours, when being relieved by a party detached by Major MacDonald under the command of Lieut Burns of the 83rd Regiment from Badulla, they had the triumph of seeing the insurgents fly before them, and of bringing the dead bodies of their comrades to be honourably interred'

Commenting on the foregoing reference to the incident published in the Army General Orders, Major Davy remarks 'It is a singular circumstance that after the generous determination was formed to hazard their lives in so perilous a menace to defend the dead bodies of their companions in arms, not another man was hit by the fire of the enemy though exposed to it uncovered and stationary in one place for so long a time

CHAPTER V.

The Capture of the Rebel Leaders.

THE historian's conception of the melancholy outlook on British interests at different stages of the "Uva Rebellion" is perhaps best presented by Marshall and Davy.

"For a considerable period . . ." the former writes, "the issue of the contest seemed to be very doubtful. Indeed, it is alleged that arrangements were in progress to withdraw the British forces from the interior. Lady Brownrigg left Kandy under the charge of a large escort, comprehending the major portion of the garrison of Kandy, under the command of Captain, now Lieutenant-Colonel, Fraser, and proceeded to Colombo. Fears were entertained that . . . the communication with Colombo would be cut off. Had this taken place, which was at one time probable, the troops, including the sick, would have been obliged to fight their way out of the country . . . A large portion of the sick in hospital at Kandy, amounting sometimes to from 300 to 500 men, were regularly supplied with arms and ammunition at sunset, with the view of enabling them to defend themselves should the hospital be attacked."

Turning from this, to times which immediately preceded a sudden change in the affairs of the British forces, Major Davy steps in to fill the gap.

He remarks that "Our little army was much exhausted and reduced by fatigue, privation and disease; the rebellion was still unchecked; all our efforts had apparently been fruitless . . . many began to despond and augur from bad to worse, and to prophesy that the few districts not yet against us would join the enemy . . ."

Under such circumstances, it does seem strange that when the tide turned, hardly a day passed but one of the rebel leaders was captured, that district after district submitted and that affairs brightened as rapidly as they originally became over-

But to examine these quick changes in a practical way, it seems necessary yet again to glean from pages which tell of the plight of the insurgent forces

By the months of September and October, 1818, this predatory warfare had lasted for nearly one year. Over this period the greater portion of the village population of the Kandyan provinces—men, women and children—had lived in the jungles in the low country or on the tops of the mountains in the central regions. Many of their cattle were killed. Their fields had been uncultivated for two seasons. Reserve stocks of grain had been expended

This being the state of affairs, and the north-east monsoon rains being soon due pregnant with menace, the outlook which faced these people merely held out further and more severe suffering from hardship and famine

Such a combination of adverse conditions was naturally not conducive to martial ardour and discipline. On the contrary they contributed rather to deter than to allure the masses from being made instruments for pandering to the caprices of the chiefs

Furthermore, it would appear that a breach in friendship and unison had sprung up among the leaders. This was sufficient cause in itself for the dramatic incidents which are crowded into the closing stage of the rebellion

The following General Order, dated 14th October, 1818, is one of the earliest indications of the end

"A court Martial to assemble at Kandy, at 11 o'Clock, this day for the Trial of such Prisoners as may be brought before it."

"Major Bayley, 2nd Ceylon Regiment, President

Members	<div style="font-size: 4em; vertical-align: middle; padding-right: 10px;">{</div> <div> <p>Captain Kettlewell, R A</p> <p>Captain Thomson, 83rd Regt</p> <p>Captain Antill, 2nd Ceylon</p> <p>Lieut. Herring, H.C, 15th L I.</p> <p>James Grey Esq, is appointed to Act as Deputy Judge Advocate "</p> </div>
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The Order published the next day embodied an "Extract from the Proceedings of the Court Martial of which Major Bayley is President,...published for General Information." It went on to state that: "The Court will continue to sit from day to day for the trial of further prisoners."

The proceedings of this Court Martial find no place, as far as can be gathered, in all that has been previously written about the "Uva Rebellion." It would be as well for this reason to draw copiously from the extracts published in the General Orders of a forgotten past, rather than to venture on a condensed retrospect.

"Charge."

"Hackmanne Tenewatte Raale, commonly called Dessave, and Kurookohogamme Kiri Banda, commonly called Kunamadoowe Lekam, are jointly and severally charged with having been in the Night between the Ninth and Tenth days of October now current, in a Jungle of the Ondessia Pattoo of Dombera together in Arms, against the authority of our Lord the King, and having then and there resisted a Detachment of His Majesty's Troops, and others of his subjects sent to apprehend them, by firing at the said Detachment."

"Sentence"

"Kandy, 14th October, 1818. The Court having duly taken into consideration the Charge preferred against the Prisoners....., and having weighed the confession of Guilt made by the first Prisoner, and the Evidence adduced against the Second Prisoner, is of opinion that the said Prisoners.....are severally Guilty of the whole of the Charge preferred against them."

"Having found the Prisoners Guilty in manner aforesaid, the Court Sentences the Prisoners...to suffer Death by hanging, at such time and place as His Excellency The Commander of the Forces shall be pleased to direct, and

further adjudges all the Goods and Chattles (sic) of the said Prisoners confiscated to the Crown.

Sgd. Thomas Bayley,
Major and President.

Sgd. James Gray,
Dep. Judge Advocate.

Approved and Confirmed.

Sgd Robert Brownrigg,
Lieutenant General "

"The Sentence of the Court on Tinnewatte (sic) Raale, will be carried into effect in Dombera under a Warrant addressed to Major Coane The Commander of the Forces is pleased to commute the Sentence on ..Kiri Banda, to banishment for life from Ceylon , he will be forthwith sent to the Custody of the Commandant of Colombo, to be detained there till an opportunity occurs to remove him off the Island "

'The Sentences of the Court and His Excellency's directions will be made known forthwith to the Prisoners, by the Acting Deputy Judge Advocate "

The "Extracts from the Proceedings" published in the Orders of the 20th October, refer to the "Charge" and the "Sentence" of three other chiefs tried between the 17th and 19th The first of these was Ambagaspitiye Nileme otherwise called Dessave, late of Wanderoowe in the Province of Dombera." The charge preferred against him was that of "assembling the people in arms at Erreloowangodde in Dombera . " He was sentenced "to suffer *Death by hanging ..* ' *but the sentence was later commuted by His Excellency, the Commander of the Forces*

The second of the chiefs to be tried was "Ellepolle Maha Nileme, of Ellepolie in the province of Matale" He was charged with "Executing the functions of Dessave of Matale under Color of being appointed to hold the said Office, by the Person pretending to be King of Kandy, and as such ordering the Inhabitants..... to take up arms....."

The Court submitted the opinion that the charge "has been fully proved," and sentenced him to be hanged. An order dated the 26th October, notified that the sentence "will be carried into Execution tomorrow near the Bogamberan (sic) Tank at Eight o'Clock in the Morning."

Marshall records in this connection that the punishment was commuted to decapitation and goes on to tell that the prisoner conducted himself with the greatest firmness. It would appear that he expressed the wish that his body should be left a prey to dogs and jackals, but by orders of government it was duly interred.

The third trial was the charge against Miwature, who was Lekam or writer of the Padikara Lekam's Department, of having "on the High Road near to Peradeniya...assaulted and ill-treated sundry Persons peacefully trading to the town of Kandy with Merchandize, and plundered them thereof, also calling on the said Persons to join in the Rebellion...',

He was found guilty of the charge, "except of that part which alledges (sic) Him to have called on Persons to join....." and was sentenced "to be transported from the Island of Ceylon during the term of 'His Natural Life...."

After conducting two other trials in respect of Iriyegamme, late Padikara Lekam, and Iriyegamme Kalu Banda, the former of whom was banished and the latter decapitated "on the thirty first instant on the Threshing Floor of Kattakay Deniya," the very spot where he had put to death some persons who would not join the rebel force, the Court was dissolved by an order dated the 29th of October.

It might rightly be expected that much more interest centred in the capture of the more important rebel leaders which took place about this time.

Captain Fraser, Aide-de-Camp to the Lieut. General, left Dambulla on October the 26th, to scour the country towards Nuwara Kalawiya, where Pilama Talawa and his comrades were reported

to be lurking. The light detachment under his command consisted of two subalterns—Lieut O'Neil and Ensign O'Brien of the 83rd. Regt—and 120 rank and file.

In the afternoon, two days later, the detachment under the immediate command of Lieut O'Neil came unexpectedly and by surprise on the temporary residence of Pilama Talawa, Kappitipola, the third noted rebel Madugalle, and several other inferior leaders, near the village of Parawahagame on the borders of the Seven Korles and Nuwara Kalawiya

Perhaps the details of the enterprise and the subsequent capture are best told in the words of the General Orders, dated the 31st October, 1818, where history and eulogium are combined

"Lieut William O'Neil marched about 4 a.m. of that day (28th October) from Peliamcolon with a Detachment of about 33 Men to search the Country in the neighbourhood of Porawahagame, having no particular information. After a march of 4 Cingalese Miles he fell in with a Rebel Picquet under a Tree, who fled in different directions, one had a Firelock, whom Lieut O'Neil pursued, and after a chase of about 300 yards across a Paddy Field, when on the point of being seized, the fellow attempted to fire twice, but the Piece missed fire. Lieut O'Neil knocked him down with a stick he had in his hand, when he immediately exclaimed that Pelime Talawa was close by."

"Lieut O'Neil then collected his Detachment, crossed the Paddy Field silently, and surrounded a house near at hand in which were actually assembled all the Great Rebels and their followers. The latter all escaped, leaving 20 stand of good Arms, a quantity of Ammunition and a Bag of Sulphur "

"On Lieut O'Neil's entering the House, Kappitipola seized him by the hand and announced his Name twice—Kappitipola, Kappitipola. Pelime Talawe lay stretched on a couch, lame, and ill of disease. Madugalle, who was in the room, and others whose names were given by Kappitipola, fled, but Capt Fraser

on joining Lieut. O'Neil the next morning made the latter write to Madugalle, and he was expected to return; Kappitipola says he joined Pelime Talawa that morning; that he left Dombera 20 days before, and that they all intended moving the next morning to Pantawella, a village about 4 miles distance, within the 7 Korles. Lieut. O'Neil speaks in the highest terms of the good conduct of his Detachment; they were deluged with rain throughout the march and had been without Arrack for eight days."

A brief notice, probably with more than just a little truth in it, gives the impression that Kappitipola had some days earlier opened negotiations with Lieut. Col. Kelly. It is not unlikely that he relied to some extent on these overtures and announced his name with so much eagerness instead of making some effort to escape.

The eulogistic references published in Army Orders which were called for by this important capture are well worth quoting. In communicating "the gratifying intelligence to the troops" in general, and in offering "the just tribute of his cordial thanks for this distinguished service" to Captain Fraser, and the officers and men of his Detachment, in particular, the Commander of the Forces "directs that the usual allowance on days of rejoicing be issued on the day these orders reach the different stations of the Army."

Native Lieut. Cader Boyet, of the 1st Ceylon Regiment, was especially commended by Capt. Fraser, for his distinguished services in effecting the Capture "and the Lieut. General to Mark his desire of rewarding this Malay Soldier on so remarkable an occasion," records his pleasure, to promote him to the rank of Native Captain in the same Regiment."

However, to get back to Madugalle, the remaining insurgent chief, who it will be recalled escaped when Kappitipola and Pilma Talawa were seized. The optimism which might have been entertained in respect to the letter which was addressed to him was

as it would appear unfounded. Subsequent events show that he was too cunning to fall into any trap. It was merely the capture of his co-leaders and the universal disappointment in the ranks of the rebel band that eventually led to his capture.

The details of Madugalle's capture, published for general information in Army Orders of the 4th November, 1818, read as follows :

"Information having been given on the Night of the 1st instant by the natives of Publia, to Lieut. Reynolds, 73rd Regiment, Commanding at Nekawella on the Northern Limits of Matelle, that this rebel chief with some followers was lurking in the Neighbourhood; that officer...immediately detached a party of 30 Rank and File, under the command of Ensign Shoolbraid of the same regiment, to attempt his capture, which he succeeded in effecting the next morning about 9, in the Jungle, half a Mile from the Village Alaherre, having been materially and effectually aided by the Inhabitants of Publia and the Neighbouring Villages, who spread themselves throughout the Jungle in every direction, and guided Ensign Shoolbraid to the exact place of Madugalle's concealment, behind a Rock without any Covering."

Whatever efforts might have been made to capture the pretender, they were apparently of no avail. According to report he apparently renounced his kingly dignity shortly before the inevitable end of the rising, and sought refuge among the Veddha tribes who roamed over the forests which girdled the foot-hills of Uva.

In these little-known regions he concealed himself for twelve years, but he was eventually apprehended in 1829, as a result of information supplied to the authorities by a Buddhist priest who knew him.

It is authoritatively stated that originally this pretender was a very handsome man, but fatigue and anxiety had so changed his appearance that at the time of his capture he wore a melancholy cast of countenance. He was tried and convicted in Ceylon, but later pardoned on orders from Britain.

The failure of all attempts to capture the pretender at the time must necessarily have caused a measure of disappointment in British military circles. However, though apparently unaware of it till some days later, the crowning victory which tended more than force of arms, or military tactics, or the capture of the leaders, to the quelling of the rising, was achieved by the recovery of something which fired the zeal of millions, more than any pretender to a throne ever did or ever will.

CHAPTER VI.

Kandyan Traditions and Melancholy Reflections.

FROM earliest times there was a belief current among the Kandyan people that the destiny of their monarchy was closely interwoven with a most precious palladium in their possession

This relic is no other than the sacred Dalada, which is believed to be the eye tooth of the Buddha Gautama

Buddhist traditions tell that somebody by the name of Khema removed the *left* tooth of the Great Teacher direct from the funeral pyre and took it to Dantapura, the "City of the Tooth," in the Kingdom of Kalinga. Avoiding wearisome details which belong to another history, it perhaps suffices to recall that from Kalinga the Tooth was brought to Ceylon by a Brahman woman in the latter part of the fourth century A.D.

For its possession bloody wars had been fought. Intrigue and tragedy frequently stepped in to fill other gaps in its career. When successive Sinhalese kings were driven to change their seat of government by relentless invading forces, the precious relic was carried by them from one spot to another—hidden in the depths of jungles at one period, honoured and worshipped in specially designed temples at another.

The reason which inspired such action might be considered extraordinary, but this aspect of its story is nevertheless true—not a Kandyan but firmly believed that the possession of the relic was essential to the kings, for he who possessed the palladium was the rightful master of the country.

Apparently, the British considered it hardly necessary to guard this object which they knew to be enshrined in the "Palace of the

Tooth," or, to refer to the place more appropriately, in the temple known as the Dalada Maligawa.

In consequence, the relic was very easily, even if clandestinely, removed in the early days of the rebellion. Doubtless, it aroused zeal and lent influence, through the universal belief in the intimate connection between the sovereignty and the relic, to the cause of the pretender and to the efforts of his adherents.

It is more than justifiable to describe the recovery of the relic by the British as a happy accident. This story is told in the Government Gazette of the period.

Soon after he took Madugalle, Ensign Shoolbraid was informed by the people who had been of such assistance to him that a Buddhist priest had been seen hiding in the jungles, palpably too frightened to venture into the open.

Such a rumour in those troublous days was seemingly sufficient to arouse suspicion, and acting on it Shoolbraid sent out a party instructing them to seize and bring this person to his camp.

The search party evidently had very little difficulty in carrying out the instructions, but, with the priest, they also brought three other men "looking like coolies, who appeared to be carrying a great deal of baggage." All the captives were found hiding in the jungle near "Pubilia," where Madugalle was taken.

The old Gazette, in its own quaint way, recounts what subsequently transpired, as follows :

"Ensign Shoolbraid asked what the contents were of all their bundles, and was answered :—"The priest's clothes"; but that officer, not accustomed to meet Buddhist priests in the jungles with such a wardrobe, had the bundles opened."

When this was done and a number of wrappings removed, they were found to contain—not clothes but the (Tooth) relic and all the richly jewelled interior caskets which usually encased the *secret Dalada*.

One of the party is alleged to have made deposition giving a minute account of the manner in which "two priests and three other persons" or a well-remembered relic of the temple. The outstanding be the subtle precautions

Nobody except a few who shared the secret was aware that the relic to which homage was offered was not in the shrine room, or as the worshipper calls it, the "vadasitina maligava," meaning the "shrine of abode." The outer "Karanduwa," or casket of silver gilt and of considerable size, which occupied the inmost recess of the windowless chamber, stifling hot and heavy with the perfume of flowers, was but an empty shell.

Directly Ensign Shbolbraid discovered the nature of his prize he took the priest and handed over both the prisoners and the relic to his commanding officer, Lieut Col Kelly, who was at Nalanda a few miles away.

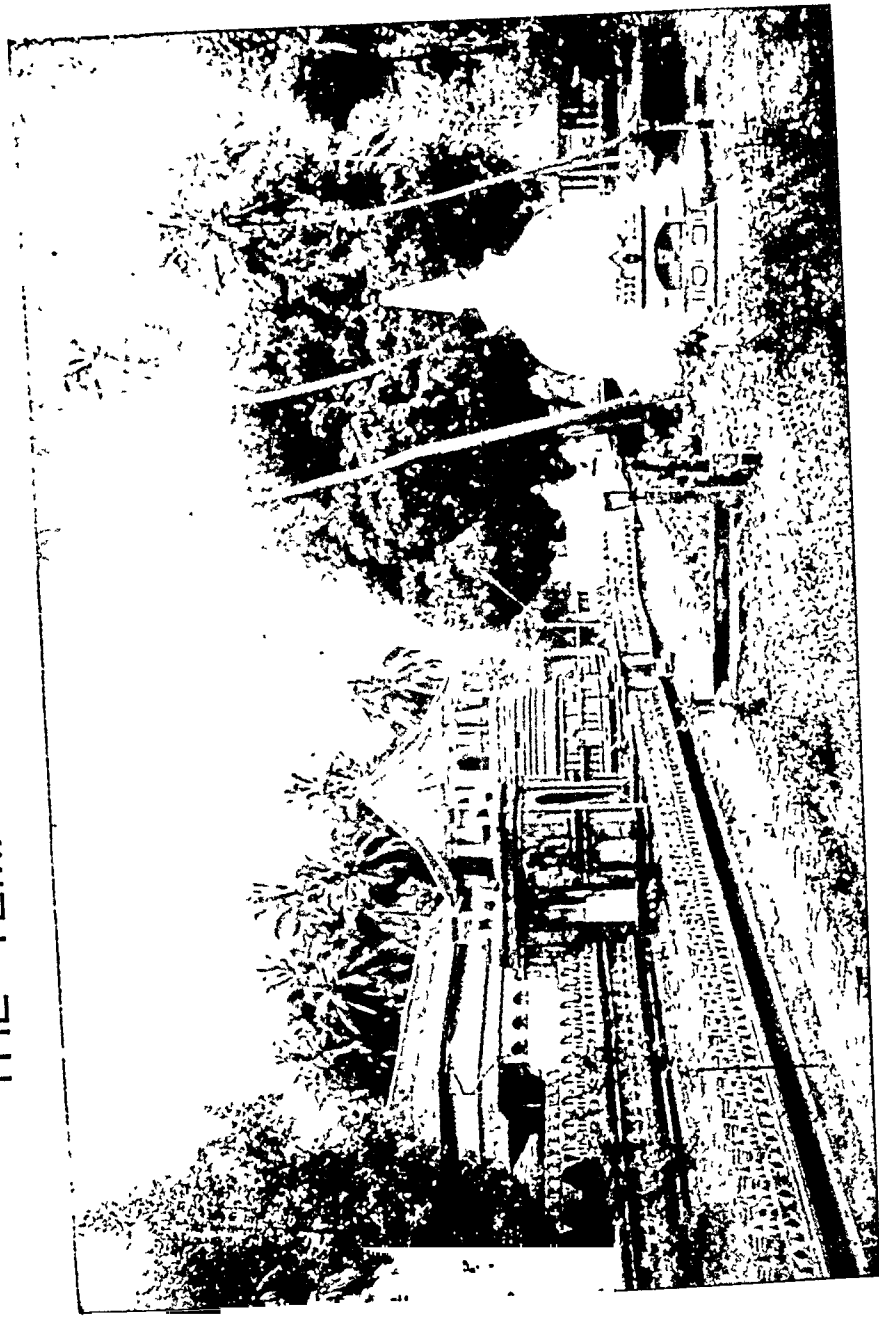
But naturally, the object which for many centuries had commanded the veneration of kings and millions of their subjects, gave rise to a predicament which called for most careful handling. Accordingly with little delay, the Lieut Colonel had it removed on the 11th of November, and deposited it at the "Temple of Netta wella, on the road between the ferry of Wattapologa and Kandy."

Here it was left—so the story goes—until a fortunate time was discovered for its removal.

When the auspicious day at length arrived, the relic was conveyed in great procession—with sufficient noise to scare away evil spirits with groups of dancers to draw off superstition associated with the evil eye—and was restored to the sacred chamber in the historic temple at Kandy.

It would be impossible to call even on imagination to picture the fuss that an event of this nature must have given rise to.

THE TEMPLE OF THE TOOTH.



*Where the palladium which fires the zeal of millions
is enshrined and worshipped.*

Davy leaves sufficient foundation on which the visionary might build. According to him, the first Adigar observed "that whatever the English might think of the consequences, of having taken Kappitipola, Pilime Talawe and Madugalle, in his opinion, and the opinion of the people in general, the taking of the relic was of, infinitely more moment."

One and all of the masses firmly believed that their palladium had never been surrendered or captured over a period of two thousand years.

Consequently, the effect that these events had on the minds of a race of conservative traditionalists was natural to them, but astonishing to others. They laid down their arms, saying: "Now the English are indeed masters of the country; for they who possess the relic have a right to govern four kingdoms"

For very nearly thirty years after the relic was restored, the temple was provided with an armed guard. The shrine-room was protected on three sides by gilt iron bars fixed into the walls, and the keys of its main door were retained by the Resident of the Kandyan province. The relic itself was shown to the people by order of the Governor.

But eventually an agitation was set afoot on the Christian side. By an Ordinance passed in 1846, Government relinquished the charge of the Tooth, and withdrew from direct interference.

Getting back to the sequence of events connected with the rebellion, the next thrill is afforded by the trial and ultimate fate of the ringleaders who had been captured. These incidents form a prominent feature of the Army Orders issued towards the end of November, 1818.

Kappitipola was the first of the chiefs to be brought to trial. The Court Martial assembled at Kandy. Lieut. Col. R. Kelly was President, and W. H. Cleather officiated as Deputy Judge Advocate.

The "Opinion and Sentence" of the Court, delivered on the 13th of November, found that "Kappitipola, late Dissawa of Uva,

otherwise called Monarawella Maha Nilame, is guilty of the acts of Treason wherewith he is charged—" He was adjudged to "suffer Death at such time and place and in such manner as His Excellency the Governor and the Commander of the Forces may be pleased to direct '

Madugalle, described in the indictment as "Formerly Uda Gabda Nilame," was also found guilty of much the same charge and similarly adjudged three days later

Pilama Talawa's trial concluded on the 20th of the same month He was arraigned before the tribunal "a Proclaimed Traitor, charged with having between the months of March and October last, at Delwitta and other places in the 7 Korles, levied War—"

He was convicted and sentenced to death

Ihegamme Rala, one of the rebel leaders, not hitherto mentioned, an ex priest and a remarkable character who will be later introduced to the reader, was tried on the 21st of November He too was found guilty of the charge proffered and the Court sentenced him to pay the extreme penalty

The findings of the Court were "Approved and Confirmed," by the Governor, and the particular order from which the foregoing references have been drawn, signed by T B Gascoyne, Depty Asst Adjut General, closes with directions that "The several Sentences are to be forthwith made known to the Prisoners by the Deputy Judge Advocate "

The closing stages of what perhaps was the burning military topic of the day did not lend itself to undue dilatoriness Questions and answers and conjectures were set at rest by the Orders published on the 24th of November, which read as follows

"The sentence of Death passed respectively on Keppitipola and Madugalle . . . will be carried into execution on Thursday the 26th Instant, near the Bogambara Tank at Eight o'Clock in the

morning . . . All the troops in the Garrison at Kandy off duty are to attend the Awful Ceremony which is to be conducted under the Orders of Lieut. Colonel Kelly, Commanding."

But it is the concluding paragraph of the same order which, leaving small margin for doubt, furnished the necessary element of surprise to many who had not speculated on such a turn of events.

"The Commandor of the Forces," it went on to tell, "is pleased to Commute the Capital Sentences passed on the Two other principal Rebel Leaders, Pelime Talawe and Ihegamme, to Banishment for Life from Ceylon. Lieut. Col. Kelly will cause Pelime Talawe and Ihegamme to be sent under a sufficient Escort on Friday next to the Custody of the Commandant at Colombo to be there detained till a fit opportunity occurs for removing them from the Island."

Much of the pathos associated with the scenes which were crowded into the end has followed the tendency of all events to fade in process of time and to lose the sharpness of their outline. Nevertheless, Marshall has endeavoured to preserve and to convey to the mind a distinct and vivid picture of much that was acted before the curtain finally fell.

He narrates that "at his (Kappitipola's) request, the writer visited him several times in gaol after . . . he was aware that he had been sentenced to suffer death. He usually conducted himself with much self-possession . . . (but) repeatedly and earnestly expressed a desire that the sentence of death might be commuted to banishment . . . (remarking), that although life was full of trouble, existence was still desirable."

On the morning of the execution of the sentence—which Marshall observes was the 25th of November, whereas the Orders make it a day later—"Keppitapola and Madugalla were in compliance with their own request taken to the . . . temple . . ."

"Kneeling before the priest, upon the threshold of the sanctuary, the repository of the sacred relic . . . (Kappitipola) pronounced

the Proptannawah,¹ or last wish, namely, that at his next birth he might be born on the 'mountain' of Himalaya and 'finally obtain Neerwannah . . ."

"Having concluded his devotions, he was addressed by the priest, who in an impressive tone and manner acknowledged that his merits were great, and concluded with these words:—"As sure as a stone thrown up into the air returns to the earth, so certain will you in consideration of your religious merits be present at the next incarnation of Boodhoo, and receive your reward."

"Madugalla's devotions were conducted in a similar manner; but . . . he lost self-possession. When the priest had given him his benediction, he sprang forward, and rushed into the sanctuary, where he loudly craved mercy for the sake of the relic."

"He was instantly dragged from behind the dagobah by Lieut. Mackenzie, the Fort Adjutant, with the assistance of some of the guard. Kappitapola . . . greatly surprised at the pusillanimity of his fellow prisoner . . . observed that Madugalla acted like a fool."

And now the scene shifts to Bogambra, the place of execution, whither the prisoners were next conducted.

At their request they were provided with water for the purpose of ablution. Having washed his face "Kappitapola then tied up his hair in a knot at the top of his head, and sat down on the ground, beside a small bush, grasping it at the same time with his toes."

"The chief continued to repeat some Pali verses and while he was so employed, the executioner struck him on the back of the neck with a sharp sword. A second stroke deprived him of life. . . . His head being separated from his body, it was, according to Kandyan custom, placed on his breast."

But this, strangely, does not complete the history of this remarkable man—a champion of his country, who to the end "was unwilling to admit that his unhappy condition was an obvious con-

sequence of the policy he had adopted, and the ill success which attended it."

Marshall concludes by remarking that "Kappitapola's cranium was presented . . to the museum of the Phrenological Society of Edinburgh." Meanwhile, a village populace in Ceylon deified him, giving him the name Monaravila Alut Deviyo.

Consequently, while it is possible that even at the present day phrenologists theorise on the mental faculties indicated on the surface of his skull, it remains a certainty that devotees continue to invoke help from his spirit by resorting to prayer and ritual.

The manner in which Madugalle conducted himself would appear to have been much less dignified. Although it has been said of him that "he evinced great bravery in the field," in facing his end he entirely lost command of resolution.

His hair had to be tied up for him by "the Hearigha Kangan, the chief public executioner". One of the executioner's assistants had to hold the prisoner's head forward while he earnestly begged to be dispatched by one blow.

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
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Bridging a hundred years and more, a few figments of imagination close in to complete the picture of this early morning tragedy enacted at Bogambra.

The over-hanging hills — the secluded hollow which had been the venue of thousands of deeds of horror, was doubtless smothered in an overpowering calm which possibly dropped like a pall over the scene.

Equally might the mind wander to an episode staged the day following, depicting a military detachment moving down the face of the indomitable mountains which had long inspired the Kandians with such confidence in their security.

Perhaps mindful of many calamities which  ten military detachments hitherto among these . .

were occasionally beset by gloomy apprehension and were spurred to even greater vigilance and precaution.

But these flights of imagination finally focus themselves on two—more particularly on one figure—forming a central aspect of the military escort.

He was accustomed to trappings more elaborate and to a retinue more numerous. Fired by ambition, he had grappled with chance—more than once. Implicated in his father's plot to be accepted as the son of, "The illustrious Lord Pilama Talawa," with the title of Grand Prince (*Ootoon Kumayaren*), he was condemned to death, and was reprieved.

A second time he had cast his die—and lost.

Maybe, with an attitude of indifference to his surroundings, with an expression not devoid of dignity and independence, Pilama Talawa Junior, accompanied his captors—down the mountain-side he knew so well, destined as he thought, to end his days in the "Isle of France"

CHAPTER VII.

The Aftermath.

THERE are many sides to the aftermath of the Uva Rebellion. Selected from these, two in particular afford more than passing interest.

The first of these delineates glimpses of the vicissitudes which attended the fate of the Kandyan state prisoners deported to Mauritius. The second wanders through an intricacy of verbose expressions of thanks or censure, for commissions or omissions as the case may be, which necessarily follows on a successful termination of hostilities.

Obviously the former of these two retrospective views must lie outside the scope of Army Orders. But in other forgotten fields of literature—in the pages of books and periodicals and pamphlets—there are rich resources which help in throwing light on the subject. To draw from these, moreover, would be to rescue from oblivion much that is ordinarily inaccessible to the reader, but which is yet available.

Information emanating from such a source goes to show that twenty-four state prisoners who shared in the exploits of the late rebellion were transported to Mauritius under the charge of Lieut. Stewart, of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment, in the year 1819.

Among them, of particular reputation, were Pilame Talawa and Ihegamme.

Six years later, this complement of Kandyan noblemen was added to by the arrival of Ehelapola—at one time First Adigar, whose intrigues, it will be recalled, were found so dangerous to British interests that he was arrested at the beginning of the Uva Rebellion. He was confined a prisoner in Colombo till 1825 and was eventually removed to Mauritius, with instructions that he was to be kept apart from the Kandyan prisoners who had been sent there previously.

This order perhaps was not enforced to the letter, for it is suggested that these chiefs, although prisoners in banishment, were much respected by the French Government and were entertained at dinner at Government House on every first Saturday of the month.

Apparently considerable conviviality prevailed on these occasions. Ehelapola in particular is represented as being "witty in the extreme." The retorts and banter which he addressed to the French gentlemen gathered round the table through the Interpreter Mudaliyar, who was a Sinhalese himself but spoke French fluently, "were much appreciated and excited much laughter."

The story is told that on one occasion when the party were present at a ball, Don Bastian, Mudaliyar, the Interpreter—a big stalwart and powerful man—succeeded where the efforts of many of the French officers had failed in lifting a large stone slab placed at the entrance of Government House.

Seemingly, it was an astounding feat in many respects. Ehelapola, who was among the onlookers, intervened in his quaint way to warn the hero "that there was danger in performing such feats in the presence of a large assembly, because, forsooth, evil mouth, and evil eyes would act injuriously on his strength."

Yet another anecdote illustrating the gift of pithy retort and the subtle humour of the Maha Nilema, Ehelapola, is partly accounted for by the habit he had, possibly due more to his old age, of hunching his back and inclining his head towards the ground.

One day as he was exercising himself, walking up and down the length of the compound of his quarters, another of the Nilemas—it is believed to have been Pilama Talawa—jocularly enquired if he had lost any valuable article.

Back came the ready reply that he had lost "his youthfulness-like gem, and was making search for it."

Looking over available records, it would seem that Ehelapo'a's one friend in his exile was the Interpreter Mudaliyar who was

attached to these state prisoners. The gentleman who held this appointment from the Ceylon Government under the style and designation of Assistant Superintendent of Kandyan State Prisoners, was Don Bastian Karunanaike Jayawardena. He is painted as a quaint figure of a past century, and not the least interesting of many humorous settings developed soon after his return from Mauritius after an absence of nearly nine years.

A legend ventures to tell that the Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, addressing him at a party at King's House, remarked that "in accepting a situation in Mauritius in obedience to orders, he seemed greatly improved in every respect."

The Mudaliyar's reply undoubtedly must have evoked the laughter and applause which report says it did,

"Even if so good a Governor as your Excellency" he said, "should order me to go to heaven, I would not decline the honour."

When in 1829, Ehelapola's end came, "he laid his head on Don Bastian's lap and breathed his last, leaving in his hands as a present a blue sapphire weighing sixteen rupees."

Ehelapola also "told Don Bastian Mudaliyar to take for his use the gold coins which lay buried in a small brass vessel in the compound on the right side of his walauwa at Ehelapola."

The Chief's body would appear to have been disposed of with funeral obsequies according to Kandyan custom. The cremated ashes, it is said, were buried in a village called Pamplemousses in Mauritius, "and a tomb was made over the grave with an inscription."

The celebrated blind traveller, Lieut. James Holman, was in Mauritius in 1829, and an extract from his work which is entitled, "Voyages round the World and Travels," throws considerable light on the Ceylon state prisoners.

He records that "the place known by the name of the Powder Mills, when the French were in possession of the Island, had been

converted into a military post and that at the time of his visit ' the Kandyan State Prisoners were lodged there '

Eleven convicts from Ceylon who were also held in confinement were utilized as forced labour to attend on the state prisoners, and it would appear that a spiritual environment was provided by a "temporary chapel" with "three images representing Buddhist Deities, one of gold, one of silver, and one of wood

It is perhaps strange that Holman should have singled out Ihegamme as being "the most intelligent person among the prisoners" But might not reason for this be gleaned from the pathetic note hidden between the lines which the blind traveller ventures in this connection to further construct

Ihegamme was at one time a priest, who practised medicine "After examining my eyes" says the writer, "he declared that there was a person in his country who could restore my sight, but that he could not relieve me for want of his own remedies

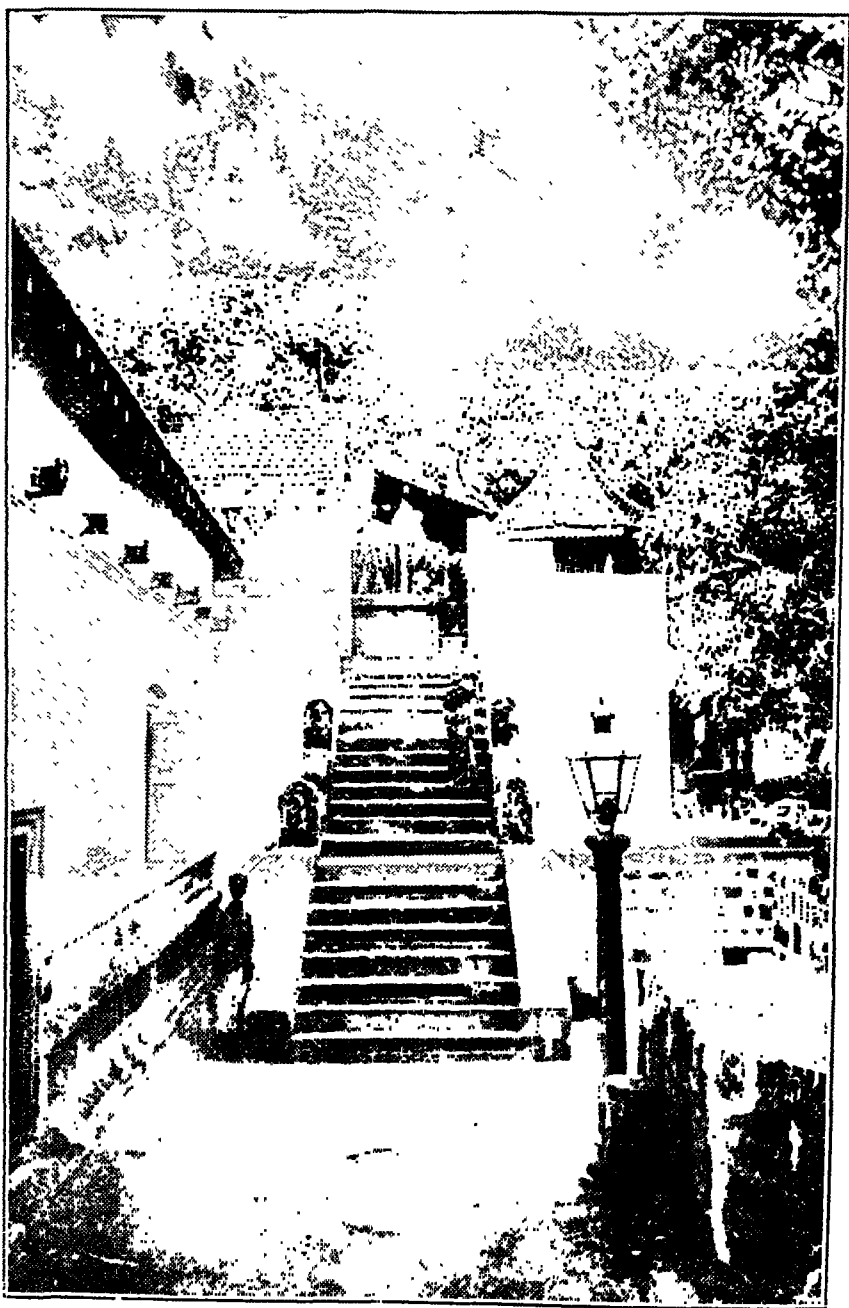
It might, on the other hand have been the highly extraordinary character and the remarkable antecedents of the man which afforded the attraction

He was at the time only thirty six years of age but his story which will bear re-casting on the facts disclosed by Holman, begins when at the age of seven he was placed in the Malwatta Wihara at Kandy as a "Samanera" or pupil priest, and dropped his more familiar name John for that of Ihegamme

At the age of twenty one, as was the custom, he was sent out to practise his priestly duties in different parts of the kingdom and this naturally brought him into touch with some of the Kandyan Chiefs who soon gauged his qualities which made for cunning and tact

They accordingly selected him to perform the most difficult part of a plot which was *summering* in efforts to bring about a revolution that should expel the British Under the plea that Ihegamme wished to improve himself in his religious studies, he

A RELIC OF OLD-CEYLON.



The entrance to the Sacred Bo-tree at Anuradhapura.

was to obtain the consent of the Governor, General Brownrigg, to leave for Siam. But the real purport of his mission was to make every effort to secure a prince of the tribe of "Ava or Siam," to be set up as king, and to smuggle him to the Island and to Kandy in the disguise of a priest.

When he was in Colombo, and possibly while making preliminary preparations to set out on his mission, Ihegamme took a Malay chief into his confidence. Yet more intrigue lay behind this chance intimacy. Chaos and complications led to the plot being discovered by the British authorities.

Meanwhile, Ihegamme was on his way back to Kandy to acquaint the Chiefs of some changes in his plans. Scarcely had he reached his destination, when he was confronted with an order that he must return to Colombo, whither a troop of soldiers was already ready to conduct him.

Resistance to the order he knew was useless. But one night on the journey down, he contrived to escape from his guards. He hid himself in caves by day and in the house of a friend by night. He shed his priest's attire for that of a peasant, allowed his hair and beard to grow, and in this guise completely baffled all efforts which were set afoot to capture him.

In 1817, when the rebellion broke out, he joined the ranks of the insurgents. The Pretender, who, it will be recalled was himself an ex-priest, immediately raised him to the dignity of a leader. But his honours seemed doomed to bring in their train a series of disappointments. With the chiefs disunited, with his patron, the pretender, in hiding, and with followers who were gradually dispersing themselves, Ihegamme was again left to think out devices for his own safety.

His cunning does not appear to have failed him for some time. But eventually, it is said, he shaved off his beard, covered himself with the costume of the nobles, and attended by what was left of his retinue he attempted to pass through the country from the coast to the hills.

Unfortunately for him, he fell in with a military picquet which saw through his designs. He was arrested, but once again taking advantage of a momentary indulgence while he was marched under escort to the nearest military station, he darted into the thickest part of the jungle and was for a time seen no more by the soldiers.

Ultimately reaching his old home in the Seven Korales he tried to evade capture. But ill luck overtook him. He was informed against and made prisoner by a military party from Kurunegalla. Taken in due course to Kandy, he was tried, convicted and banished under circumstances already brought to the knowledge of the reader.

Pilama Talawa is the other State Prisoner who lays claim to a concluding reference. Holman says that he possessed no extraordinary ability, and, that as a political agent, he is less feared than the more humbly born, but much higher gifted Ihigamme.

Perhaps it was this very trait which procured him the good fortune of ending his days in his native land. He returned to the Island, and died in the year 1833.

In proceeding to combine and create the second aspect of the aftermath, it would perhaps be appropriate to commence on the legitimate offspring of success—a gesture of respect and forbearance accorded to the beaten side.

The identical Army Order which promulgated the fate of the rebel chieftains, decreed that "The Chief's holding the high offices of the 1st and 2nd Adigar, will be received by all Sentries whom they may pass in the day, with carried Arms and by all soldiers of (sic) duty or other Europeans or persons of European Extraction, by touching their Caps, or taking off their Hats."

The "Thanks to the Army on the termination of hostilities," appear from the extracts available for reference to have run into many pages of the General Orders dated the 10th of November, 1818.

These are in the main composed of extraordinary testimonials evoked by a spaciousness peculiar to days of the past. Neverthe-

less, such curiosities so to speak, fantastic and sometimes even humorous, might be collected and condensed to advantage. While the extracts will in measure help in classifying those of the old school who figured prominently during a critical time which was ended, they might also in that peculiar way that one thing seemingly has of leading up to another, disclose details of more permanent interest to Ceylon's history mixed up with eulogiums of merely casual value.

The first to be brought under notice is Lieut—Col. Hardy, D. Q. M. G. and his detachments who “returned to Kandy from a series of continual and fatiguing exertions in the Province of Doombera, Lagulla, and part of Bintenne . . . under exposure to every inclemency, and through a country little-known.”

The Commander of the Forces sets out that he “performs but His duty in publicly (sic) acknowledging the services of that able Officer and of Major Coane, the late lamented Captain Glenholme, Captain Dobbin, and the other Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers, who have lately served under the Lieut. Colonel's Command in the Provinces . . . which have in the most material degree tended to the great end now accomplished, the subjugation of the Rebellion.”

“To the same end have been most judiciously (sic) directed the exertions of the Troops in Weyaloowa and Wallapana . . . and the Lieut. General requests Major Macdonald, Captain Cleather, Captain Creagh, 86th Regt., Lieut. Raymond, Lieut. Burns with the other Officers and men . . . to accept his cordial thanks.”

“The Soldierlike conduct of the Detachment of the Royal Artillery, Commanded by Captain Kettlewell,” has evoked encomium which goes on to stress how they “bravely and cheerfully (sic) on many occasions performed the duties of Infantry Soldiers.”

In a tribute to the Army in general, “including the Auxiliary Force so generously and promptly granted by . . the Right Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George,” the tribute of

"acknowledgements, and good wishes" is particularly extended to include "Major General Jackson, and such other Officers whose duty calling for their presence in the Maritime Districts, did not permit of their sharing in the active operations in the interior . . ."

"To Dr Farrell, Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, and the Medical Officers, as well of the General, as of the Regimental Staff, the Commander of the Forces begs to convey the just tribute of his thanks, for the assiduity and humanity, which have distinguished the application of their professional skill, to the numerous cases of sickness, and wounds, which have occurred, and called for an almost constant display of their abilities, and unparalleled Zeal."

The next paragraph in the Orders takes up the Civilian side of the Service Particular mention is made of and thanks extended to the Hon'ble Robert Boyd, Commissioner of Revenue, "to John Derne, Esq, Collector of Colombo, whose exertions have been unremitting and most essential, To J A Farrell Esq, Collector of Tangalle, To G D Boyd, Esq, Collector of Batticaloa To J Wallbeoff, Esq, Collector of Chilaw, and especially to T R Backhouse, Esq, Collector of Mannar, for having ably and zealously conducted the March of a Detachment of Troops from his District to Anurajpooora and back, in the course of the last month "

"The zeal, intelligence and talent displayed by William Harries Kerr, E q, during his Mission, first to the Southern part of the Coast of Coromandel, and latterly to Fort St George as well for His exertions in the despatch of the Army Followers from the Peninsula to Ceylon "are marked by high commendation An equal reward is accorded "the Gentlemen of the Civil Service of the Kandyan Provinces, whose situation more immediately connects (sic) them with the events that have passed "

In this connection, "The Commander of the Forces, desires without at all detracting from the ample merits of others, to indulge His best feelings by His admiration, at the distinguished Conduct of Simon Sawers Esq, the 3rd Commissioner, whose duties voluntarily

transferred at the commencement of these troubles, to the Eastern Insurgent Provinces, gave, during the whole period, a wide scope for the exercise of those rare abilities, and that Firmness of Character, which are so conspicuous in this most estimable Officer of Government."

There follows the panegyrical passage addressed to "the Officers of the Adjutant General and Quarter Master General's Departments, and to the Commander of the Forces, Personal Staff." To these are offered "affectionate acknowledgements", and "to George Lusignan, Esq., Deputy Secretary to Government, and Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces, who though last mentioned, holds a first place in His esteem, the Lieut. General's never ceasing obligations" are duly stressed.

The Order concludes with the assertion that the Commander of the Forces would consider Himself chargeable with unpardonable ingratitude, was He not publickly (sic) to record the high sense He must ever entertain of the cordial, cheerful and ready assistance He has received throughout the difficult and harrassing (sic) contest, from His Excellency Sir Richard King, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Navy in these Seas, on every occasion where the Squadron under His Command could be rendered Auxiliary to the Service of this Island . . ."

The Orders published on the 22nd of November, 1818, embody a second series of laudatory announcements. They read as follows ;

"The Commander of the Forces being in consequence of the cessation of Active Military Operations in the Kandyan Provinces, on the eve of returning to the seat of Government at Colombo, cannot withdraw from a scene in which for a period of 12 Months his own anxious endeavours, and the unceasing exertions of the Army at large have been directed to effect the fortunate conclusion by which their efforts have been rewarded, without addressing to them in General Orders the reiterated assurance of the admiration with which He shall ever continue to view their gallant and indefatigable conduct, throughout the late arduous struggle, and distinguish-

ing by Name those Officers, who from the responsible situations they held, have become entitled to this mark of Public approbation, in addition to those spoken of in the General Orders of the 10th Instant, and many of whom He has had frequent occasion to notice in a similar manner, for signal exertions in the course of the Campaign."

"To Lieut. Colonel Cother, C.B., 83rd : Regiment, who has Commanded in the Province of Saffragam since the Month of December last, the highest praise and warmest thanks the Lieut. General can bestow are due, for the able and Officerlike manner in which the duties committed to his charge in that District have been conducted by him under circumstances of constant difficulty, when the torrent of Rebellion which was at its most alarming height, and threatening that valuable Province with Revolution, required the prompt display of those qualities successfully to stem it, which had already distinguished that gallant Officer in various Quarters of the World."

"In speaking of the Province of Saffragam, the Commander of the Forces cannot be unmindful of the valuable Services of Henry Wright, Esq., in his Capacity of Agent of Government, and which were always directed with advantage to the Public Interest."

"To Col: Kelly, 83rd Regt., whose Services have so frequently been brought to notice, the Lieut. General has again to repeat the obligations He is under, for his unwearied and continued exertions from the commencement of the Rebellion, and the successful discharge of various important Commands, for which he was selected in Districts where Insurrection raged most fiercely, and the active and efficient Services of Lieut. Sweeting of the Royal Artillery, Deputy Asst: Quartermaster attached to the Lieut.—Colonel, as well as of Lieut: Irwin of the 83rd Regt., recently in Command of a Detachment of Troops in Doombura, and Lagalla, are deserving of particular mention."

The Commander of the Forces is no less desirous to expatiate on the able and important Services rendered by Lieut.—Colonel

Hook, of the 19th Regt.; whose talents as an Officer placed Him at an early period of the Rebellion in the most difficult scenes that occurred throughout the arduous Contest, and although the name of Lieut—Colonel Hook already stands high among the Officers of the Army who have distinguished themselves, the Lieut-General would be denying himself a peculiar gratification of his feelings, was He to omit the mention of that excellent Officer on the present occasion."

"To Major General Hext, C.B., 83rd Regt.; who has Commanded the Troops in Doombura and Harispattoo, since the first breaking out of Insurrection in those Provinces, the Lieut—General must not omit the public expression of the sense He entertains of the merits of that experienced and Gallant Officer, for the able and effectual manner in which He has conducted the operations of the Troops under his Command, In those most refractory Districts of the Kandyan Country."

".....The Commander of the Forces has also to bear Public Testimony of the Gallantry, Zeal and Intelligence, manifested on several occasions by Lieut—Colonel Geddes of the 83rd, and Major Bayley of the 2nd Ceylon Regt.; and were it possible within the limits of a General Order, to enumerate by Name every individual who has distinguished himself in the course of the late Service, the fullest scope has been afforded to the Lieut—General for indulging his most anxious desire to do ample justice to all."

General Bröwnrigg left Kandy and returned to the sea-coast, on the 25th of November. This event is given expression to in the General Orders by a notice that "The Head Quarters of the Army will move from Kandy for Colombo on Wednesday the 25th Inst. . . after which time all reports from Officers Commanding Districts in the Interior with the exception of Lieut—Colonel Cother, Commanding in Saffragam, are to be made to Lieut-Colonel Kelly, at Kandy."

His Excellency's arrival in Colombo after an absence of more than fifteen months was, from all accounts, made an occasion for much jubilation.

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The Government Gazette announces that he reached the Grand Pass at about 4 O'clock on Saturday afternoon, the 28th Attended by a concourse of "H. M Civil and Military Servants of this Presidency, and almost the entire population of Colombo of all ranks and descriptions" which had gathered there to greet him. "His Excellency proceeded from the Grand Pass in His Palankeen"

"A Triumphal Arch was erected at Kayman's Gate . . . The Troops of the Garrison formed a Street from thence to the King's House. A Detachment of the Royal Artillery, with a brigade of light Guns formed on the left of the Line, fired a salute of 19 Guns, while the Troops Presented Arms."

"His Excellency reached the King's House a little after 5 O'clock where he received the Congratulations of all the Principal Inhabitants of Colombo on the Termination of the Kandyan Insurrection and on His second Victorious return to the Seat of His Government from the Kandyan Territories"

Having had this peep at one side of the picture it would be appropriate at this juncture to turn to the other To think for a moment that this recital of praise was not set off by expressions of censure, would be unnatural. A remarkable example is the strange case of Captain Truter.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Trial of Captain Truter.

AT a General Court Martial which assembled at Colombo, on the 14th of June, and continued by adjournments to the 3rd of July, 1819, Captain J. M. Truter, of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment, was arraigned on the following charges:

“For Conduct unbecoming the Character of an Officer, when in Command of the Post of Hanwelle in Doombera, in and during the Month of February 1818, and especially on the 19th day of that Month, when he put on a Private Soldier's Jacket, as a disguise, and conducted himself in a manner calculated to discourage the Troops under his Command; such Conduct being a breach of the Articles of War, highly injurious to the Credit of His Majesty's Service, and disgraceful in a British Officer.”

To throw some light on circumstances which led up to this regrettable incident it is as well to bring under notice a few details which associate this officer with the outpost in Uda Dumbera.

It would appear that on the 14th of February, Captain Truter accompanied by two Caffres of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment, broke journey at this out-post on his way from “Bintenne to Kandy on sick certificate.”

Everything seemed then quiet, but on the following day a force of rebels was seen advancing to the attack.

Captain Truter, who perhaps from right of seniority took command, detached Lieut. Hope (Gun Lascars) with a small party, to venture out of the post. They came up with the opposing forces three quarters of a mile away, received their fire, and returned it so effectively that the insurgents temporarily retreated to the hills.

Eventually, recommencing their attack, the invading forces surrounded the redoubt on all sides, “and tried to persuade

Truter to abandon his post which, on a parley demanded by them, they represented was untenable, all other British posts having been taken."

This ruse proved, as might be expected, unsuccessful. Meanwhile, Captain Truter, in the course of the night of the 18th, had persuaded two pioneers on a promise of reward, to convey a letter to Bintenna appraising Lieut—Col. Kelly of his critical situation. A detachment to reinforce the small garrison in the post, duly arrived, and although the authority from which these gleanings have been drawn does not specifically mention it, there is little room for doubt in assuming that Captain Truter exposed himself to the charges proffered against him when the rebels were dispersed with the help of the reinforcement, on the 19th.

The General Orders record further, that "The Court having maturely weighed and considered the evidence in support of the Charge against the Prisoner together with that adduced by him in his Defence, are of opinion as follows "

"That he is Guilty of putting on a Private Soldier's Jacket as guise, when in Command of the Post on the 19th of February, 1818, and that his Conduct therein was incorrect as an Officer, Injurious to the Credit of His Majesty's Service, and in breach of Articles of War. '

"But it does not appear to the Court that his Conduct was calculated to discourage the Troops under his Command, nor that it was disgraceful in a British Officer—They do therefore acquit him of those parts of the Charge, and of any other unbecoming Conduct, whilst in Command of the Post "

"The Court conceive that Capt Truter, in putting on a soldier's jacket as a disguise, was not influenced by personal motives; but that his Conduct therein proceeded from an Error in Judgement."

"And the Court, having so found the Prisoner Guilty as aforesaid, doth adjudge him...to be publicly (sic) and severely reprimanded, in such manner and form as the Commander of the Forces shall think fit."

But this strange case, hinging on an incident drawn from a Golden Age of Military Adventure, was not allowed to rest at that. It was much more tangled apparently than one is casually led to imagine.

The point of connection between the prelude and the sequel is afforded by a minute penned by the Commander of the Forces, with a guarantee that he has done so: "Having read with his best attention the Voluminous Proceedings of the General Court Martial."

Rather than lose the imprint of individuality which characterises the original text, this with its added charm and attraction of old-time quaintness is presented to the reader—inasmuch as the copyist has, to judge from the manuscript available for reference, taken great trouble to faithfully follow the original.

The peculiar indulgence in the use of capital letters which to-day will be considered excessive, has perhaps accustomed itself to the eye of the reader and helps him now to pick out such extracts as have been made from the General Orders.

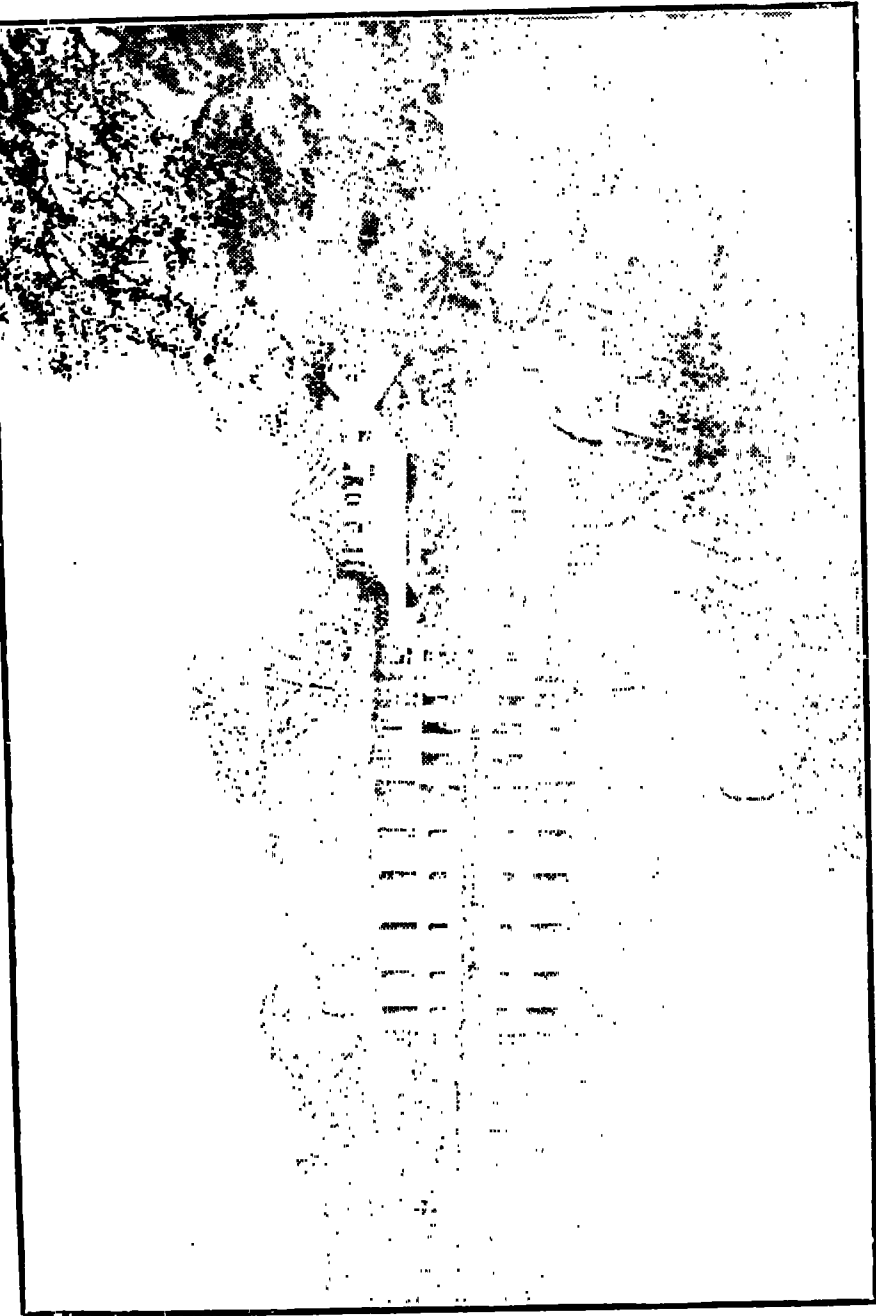
"The Commander of the Forces.....approves of that part of the finding of the Court, which pronounces the Prisoner Guilty of putting on a Private Soldier's Jacket as a disguise when in command of the Post of Hanwelle in Doomberra, on 19th of February, 1818, the same being in breach of the Articles of War—But the Lieut. General feels himself obliged to dissent from the whole of the remaining part of the opinion. It being the first time in the course of his Service, that he ever heard of an Officer standing at the Head of his Troops in front of an Enemy, venturing on such an Occasion to take off his own Uniform, and to put on the Jacket of a Private Soldier, for the avowed and express purpose of disguising his Person—Such Conduct, in the opinion of the Commander of the Forces, can be considered in no other light than that which is distinctly expressed in the wording of the Charge, viz.—In breach of the Articles of War, highly injurious to the Credit of His Majesty's Service, and disgraceful in a British Officer."

"Nor can the Lieutenant General reconcile to His conception of the effect of the discreditable action alluded to, the Opinion formed by the Court, that it was not calculated to discourage the Soldiers—"

"That it did not do so, is proved by Evidence; but, this the Lieut General imputes to the great courage inherent in the brave Soldiers who were fortunately at the Post of Hanwelle, who were not to be intimidated, and partly to the circumstance (which only appears obscurely in the Proceedings) of Lieut Hope wearing a similar disguise the previous day, when the courage of that brave Soldier appears to have been unquestionable—The Scandal of which however rests with the Prisoner who allowed it."

"Neither can the Lieut General reconcile to his understanding of Military Discipline, how the conduct of an Officer who is found Guilty of acting in a manner incorrect in an Officer, injurious to His Majesty's Service and in breach of the Articles of War, can be extenuated into a mere Error of Judgement."

"*The Decision of the Court*—That remarks, made in March upon the Prisoner's Conduct in the Month of February, should not be heard, because the Conduct set forth on the Charge was confined to the Month last mentioned, appears to the Commander of the Forces most extraordinary and ill judged—for the Prisoner was put on his Trial in order that his motives for putting on the disguise of a Private Soldier's Jacket might be ascertained, and how were the motives to be discovered, but by his deportment at the time, and the impressions made on others by such proceeding, when arriving at the spot where the Conduct exhibited in the Charge was practised, at a subsequent period, for if the impressions were received within the time limited by the Charge, there can be no reasonably conversations declaratory of them, though posterior to that time, should be refused as Evidence, and the Commander of the Forces cannot but regret that the Court should have been induced to reject proof, which was so important to the full conviction of the Prisoner."



Looking across the lake which was built by the last of the Sinhalese Kings in the mountain-stronghold which was the last part of Ceylon to fall into the hands of the foreigner.

"The Commander of the Forces cannot refrain from further remarking upon the Prisoner's defence, which assumes throughout an accusatory tone, imputing delay to the Commander of the Forces in bringing him to Trial."

"The cause of this delay is, in the Lieut. General's opinion, most fully accounted for in the opening addresses of Lieut. Colonel Spawforth and the officiating Deputy Judge Advocate. But it ill becomes the Prisoner to complain of delay in an investigation of his Conduct, when He himself produces a letter in his own handwriting, dated 18th May, 1819, expressive of his satisfaction that the investigation was to be put an end to; and still less does it become the Prisoner to insinuate against the Lieut. General a charge of harshness in the present mode of procedure; conscious as He ought to feel of the delicacy and forbearance which was manifest towards Him, from the month of January 1818, when he reluctantly joined the army in Kandy."

"The Language of the Prisoner's Defence is moreover objectionable, inasmuch as it presumes to reflect upon the character of the service, in which the Army was engaged, for it cannot be permitted to an Officer to style the Duty on which His Majesty's Troops were employed during the Rebellion in Kandy—Unmilitary Service."

"Subject to these remarks, the Commander of the Forces approves of the Sentence of the General Court Martial, adjudging Captain James. M. Truter, to be publicly and severely reprimanded, in such manner and form as the Commander of the Forces shall think fit; and directs that this order be read by the Deputy Adjutant General to Captain Truter, Lieut. Colonel Spawforth, Commanding the 2nd Ceylon Regiment, and all the Officers of the Corps at Headquarters being assembled for that purpose; as the severe and publick (sic) Reprimand awarded by the General Court Martial before which the Prisoner was tried."

"Captain Truter will then be released from arrest, and join the Head-Quarters of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment."

But before closing His Remarks on this Trial, the Commander of the Forces must perform a painful part of His Duty, in remarking particularly on the extraordinary inconsistencies and Contradictions in Lieut Barnes's conduct throughout the Transactions connected with the said Trial, and which cannot fail to attract the notice of the Commander in Chief when the Proceedings of the General Court Martial are submitted for His Royal Highness's perusal

It merits a short digression to forge another link in the chain of misfortune which seemingly hung heavily on this officer during the unsettled days of the Rebellion

The incident, originally published in the Gazette, occurred on the 11th of June 1818 Major Truter was moving with a detachment into Dumberry, and about three O'clock that day, he embarked in the Lewelle ferry boat to cross over There were it is told fourteen persons in all on the boat—the Captain, ten soldiers two servants and the boatman

"The river being swelled by the late rains, and the current rapid Captain Truter took the precaution of making all the men sit down "

Presumably, the boat was propelled by the boatman's grip on a rattan stretched from one bank to the other

"When they were about the middle of the river, the boatman whose hands were sore, accidentally suffered the rattan by which he was pulling over to slip from his hold, the boat was immediately carried down stream, and about 150 yards from the place of crossing filled and upset, one private of the 83rd and three of the H.C. 15th N.I. were drowned and ten stand of arms lost "

There is a poignant note of pathos in the concluding observations which a company of writers offer in respect to the U.K. Rebellion It is perhaps as well in turning down the page to epitomize some of these

Dr. Davy, who is acknowledged to have had the "best opportunities of acquiring information," takes up the task of estimating to what extent the inhabitants of the country suffered by death. Taking into account those killed in the field, those executed and those who died of disease and famine, he thinks, "that the mortality may have amounted perhaps to 10,000."

Marshall couples his observations on the mortality which took place in the British Army with a startling combination of figures. His pen-pictures depict ravages of sickness as a result of exhausting labours and privations in an insalubrious climate, of the obvious toll paid to scarcity of food which was not procurable, "either by purchase or plunder," of the frequent issue of rations consisting of Paddy—"the unhusked grain from which rice is obtained."

Steuart, in his contribution—"Notes of Ceylon," depicts the plight of the "European fatherless children." They were apparently so great in numbers," as to excite general sympathy and induce the benevolent Lady Brownrigg to prevail on an elderly medical officer to transfer to the Local Government his right of property in a house and grounds at Colpetty to be converted into an Asylum for these poor orphans. . . "

Blending the observations of many, Herbert White remarks in the year 1893 on the indelible marks which the rebellion has left on the face of the country, "It is partly owing to the stern methods of repression employed during this period," he says, "that Uva has been, considering the character of its soil, its climate, and its people, the most backward, the most stagnant, of any portion of Ceylon."



CHAPTER IX.

The Regiments which Participated in the Suppression of the Rebellion.

1. *H M's. 19th (Foot) or 1st Yorkshire Regiment.*

Half of this famous corps, the North Riding Regiment as it was also sometimes called, arrived in Ceylon in December 1796 with General Doyle

For some strange reason the existence of this body of troops was as it were forgotten by the Home authorities and it did not leave until 1820. The 19th, consequently, spent a longer period in the Island than any other British Regiment.

During a quarter of a century crowded with events which undoubtedly provided a period of acute stress and strain, the Regiment took its full share in virtually laying those foundation stones which have made for the subsequent era of the Island's peace and prosperity

Although the troops were contending against an unwarlike enemy who did not afford them an opportunity of displaying their prowess in the field of battle, it is nevertheless too true that they have established a fair claim to recognition in the formidable obstacles they had to encounter, and in the privations and afflictions they were called upon to endure which sprang from an unopened and little known country, from climate and disease

Lieut-Col. Hook was in command during the two years of the Uva Rebellion. The headquarters of the Regiment was Colombo, but at the commencement of the rising a detachment was doing garrison duty at Batticaloa.

Most of these troops at Batticaloa together with a reinforcement which had been sent from Trincomalee in the "Hebe", marched for the interior under the command of Cpt: Thomas. Aldersey Jones,

and took occupation of the post at Kotabowa. Several other detachments drawn from the 19th were detailed to garrison small forts and out-posts throughout the disaffected area in the low-country.

A picture has already been drawn of the alarming and extensive sickness which assailed the troops in and around Kotabowa. The 19th regiment alone, lost 205 men, and it is said that by 1819 the total strength of the regiment had been reduced to 598.

There is small reason to wonder that when eventually recalled after the termination of the Uva Rebellion and a year of quiet garrison life, only two of the number who returned to England had arrived in the Island of Ceylon with the original draft.

A roll of the officers of the Regiment who died in Ceylon compiled by Major M. L. Ferrar, (late 19th Foot) appears in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch R. A. S, Vol : 23, No : 66.

2. *H.M's. 75rd (Foot) or Perthshire Regiment.*

The 73rd Perthshire Regiment appears to have served three times in Ceylon. The Flank Companies embarked at Madras in 1795 and under the command of Col : Stuart, participated in the events which led up to the Capitulation of the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. "The rest of the battalion," states Lewis, "seem to have followed them to the Island."

The second tour in Ceylon extended from 1814 to 1821, and followed on a period of service in Australia. The Regiment was at the beginning of the tour 1200 strong, consisting of two battalions.

The part the 73rd played in the suppression of the Uva Rebellion affords many a glimpse of heroic conduct. One incident in particular which deserves to be kept in remembrance is narrated in the Gazette, and does honour to human nature.

"A small party going from Taldeniya to Badulla was attacked by a great number of rebels...when a private of the 73rd Regiment had his thigh broken by a musquet ball. He fell, and was of

course unable to move. To the soldier who attempted to assist him, he said "It is of no use, you must leave me here to die."

"No," cried his comrade, "I will never leave you."

"He was as good as his word, and remained with the wounded man defending him as well as he could with a constant fire until overpowered...and both were killed"

The name of this gallant fellow was Pitcairne, and he probably belonged to the "Light Company."

This particular Detachment which was drawn from the ranks of the 73rd Regiment, was very actively employed on the out-skirts of what was till recently Kandyan territory. The "Light Company" consisted of about one hundred Grenadiers most of them fresh from England, many of whom had shared in the glorious triumph of Waterloo.

Marshall estimates that during the second year of the rebellion the 17th foot, "lost by death 356 men or 42 per thousand. the mean strength in 1819 was 566.." The mortality for that year is shown to be 160 while 105 were invalided. Consequently it has been said that the regiment lost 621 men in two years

Of the "Light Company", only twelve men survived to return with the regiment to England in 1821.

These figures include the loss by death of nineteen officers—two Majors, Coane and Vallance, Captain Glenholme, nine Lieutenants, six Ensigns and Assistant-Surgeon Mc Dermott. The only officer killed in action was Lieut MacLaine

The headquarters of the regiment was at Trincomalee.

Yet another passing reference which affords a link in the story of this Regiment confined to the days of the rebellion is a brief notice of a "military execution" It is said to have been the third, and one but the last "military execution" in the Island.

The particular one referred to was that of Private John Jenny of the 73rd: who was shot on the Galle Face, or "Southern

Esplanade" as it was called, on October 27th 1817, for mutinous conduct and striking Captain Haddon Smith of the same Regiment.

The third and last time the 73rd served in Ceylon was from March 1859 to February 1874. It is now the second Battalion, the Black Watch.

5. H.M's. 83rd (Foot) or County Dublin Regiment.

The 83rd County Dublin Regiment of the Line, arrived in Ceylon in November, 1817 from Cork and from the Cape. It was nearly 400 strong and a large proportion of the men were veterans of the Peninsula war.

The Gazette of the 22nd November, 1817, while venturing in an optimistic strain to state, "we do not believe that such an accession of strength was wanting", rejoiced at the arrival of so large a body of English soldiers at a critical moment. It was contended that this addition to numbers cannot fail to produce some effect upon the opinion of the Kandyans, "since Rebellion is more effectually quelled by change of sentiment than absolute compulsion."

A more pertinent notice however, makes reference to the fact that the Regiment arrived without a single man sick, or unfit for duty, a circumstance which is suggested to afford "infinite credit to their Officers and to the good management which must have been observed on the voyage."

The headquarters of the Regiment would appear to have been Colombo but several references might be picked up indicating that as soon as this body of troops arrived detachments were detailed to out-posts in the interior.

In the month of January following their landing, a Grenadier Company consisting of 90 rank and file of the 83rd Regiment, arrived in Kandy under the command of Brevet Major Hext.

Other officers who took an active part are Bt: Lieut-Col: Geddes who was Commandant at Balangoda and was commended in the General Orders by Governor Sir Robert Brownrigg; Captain

William Phillips, who is mentioned in references to encounters near Teldeniya and Hanwella in Lower Dumbura; Lieut Abell and Lieut , later, Captain Brahan

Many officers from the 83rd were drafted to the 1st and 2nd Ceylon Regiments Major Skinner, in his book "Fifty Years in Ceylon", states that the 83rd, "much to its credit, had more officers in it who had been raised from the ranks than any other I have come across" He adds that "they were not a little proud of it, and often talked of it."

4 The Ceylon Regiments, Pioneers and Gun Lascars

The formation of Ceylon Regiments to supplement the European troops in the Island would appear to have originated from a policy adopted by Governor North in the very early days of British occupation

The Malay Regiment, described as "A Corps of Foot to serve in the Island of Ceylon," was raised in 1801 at Trincomalee and was formally gazetted a year later

The first Commandant was Lieut-Col Champag , from whom the Corps derived the name of "Champagne's Regiment" It has been recorded that Captain Adam Davie was on this occasion gazetted Major and Lieut Paul Carrington, of the 74th Foot, was gazetted Captain, of the newly formed Regiment

Shortly afterwards a regiment of Sepoys was raised in the Island It was this circumstance perhaps which led the authorities to style the Malay Regiment the 1st Ceylon Regiment and the other the 2nd Ceylon Regiment or the Ceylon Native Infantry The latter was commanded by Col Ramsay

Both these Regiments were presented their colours on the Galle Face The 1st Ceylon received them in May 1802 and the 2nd Ceylon, in January, 1803

The success which attended this scheme of recruitment and also perhaps, the evidence which proved the "active and indefatigable intrepidity" of these troops, resulted in the formation of two more Regiments.

These two new corps were known as the 3rd Ceylon, or Baillie's Regiment, from the fact that Col: Charles Baillie was the first commanding officer; and as the 4th Ceylon Regiment.

The former was founded by Governor Maitland, in 1805 from a number of Caffres and was at first also known as the "Caffre Corps". The latter was raised in 1809 and comprised Malays and Sepoys.

These four Regiments wore scarlet uniforms. The 1st had light buff facings, the 2nd bright yellow, the 3rd dark green and the 4th white. The 3rd Ceylon Regiment received its colours on the 29th of November, 1805 and the 4th, in February, 1811.

Apart from the service which these Regiments performed in Ceylon the 3rd and 4th were sent to the assistance of the Madras troops in the war against Travancore in 1809-1811. It is on record that the men of the 3rd "were ordered an extra allowance of arrack for having in an attack, the first in which they were ever engaged conducted themselves in the usual manner in which all H. M's. Regiments have ever done when called upon to serve their King and Country."

However, it was not long before an alteration was effected in the composition of these corps. The 4th Ceylon was reduced about 1815 and the 3rd Ceylon in 1816.

This left the 1st Ceylon Regiment of Malays and the 2nd Ceylon Regiment of Sepoys to participate in the vicissitudes of the Uva Rebellion. The outstanding part which the troops of these two Regiments played are crowded out of the pages of history. Yet, hidden between the lines of such references as there are, recalling the movements of the officers who commanded them, there is much which throws light on their forgotten fame—much which helps to build up the story of gallantry in forlorn out-posts and on marches which must have left them haggard, bedraggled and incredibly weary. It is far from possible to set such stories down soberly.

To imagine for a moment that appreciation and reward were denied these local troops would be unfair. One extract from the

General Orders, dated the 29th of January, 1819, suffices to prove this so

"The Commander of the Forces having had brought to His notice the gallant and soldier like conduct of Native Lieut Coopah Sahib of the 2nd Ceylon Regiment, and particularly his active and intelligent exertions in the 7 Korales during the late Rebellion, as reported by Lieut Col Hook, Comdg in the District, is pleased, as a reward for such Meritorious Services, to promote (him) to be a Supernumerary Native Captain in the 2nd Ceylon Regiment."

There is no collective list of the officers of the 1st and 2nd Ceylon Regiments who lost their lives in the campaign of 1817—1818, but several names of those who fell in action or from the rigours and reverses of the prolonged guerilla warfare and exposure, might be picked out from the monumental inscriptions and obituary of persons uncommemorated, compiled by Lewis. The following information and references are scanned from the pages of this volume

Thomas Bayley, was a Major in the 1st Ceylon. In the early days of the rebellion he was closely connected with activities in Wellas-a and was later Commandant of the 3 Korales. It is interesting to recall that he was in charge of the troops when Lillepelle was executed at Kandy on the 27th of October, 1818. Some time after the close of the rebellion, when on the way down from his station Ruwanwella on medical advice, he died in the boat which was conveying him down the river, at Grand Pass.

Two other officers of the same Regiment who were destined to a very short career were Major Coxon and Asst Surgeon McNulty. At the outbreak of hostilities the former commanded at "Alput" (Alupotha) and paid toll to the "unwholesome climate"

The latter was killed near Taldena when marching with a detachment commanded by Capt Joseph Reed. The story is told that he was "in the act of putting his arm into the sleeve of his great coat, when he was struck by an arrow just below his right breast, and he fell almost instantly dead in the arms of his servant."

RUWANWELLA FORT.



*The entrance, which still bears the initials of the Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg
and the date 1817.*

Other names linked with the 1st Ceylon are John Cassidy, Surgeon who died on service in 1817; Captain John Manwaring, Adjutant of the Regiment from 1817 to 1820; Captain Thomas Fletcher, who at one time commanded at Ratnapura; Lieutenants Thomas Wilkinson and Henry Green, who saw service in the outposts of Uva; Lieut. Strutzer who "fell from a musket shot on his march from Raloowalwella to Wellawaye"; and Lieut. Newnam who is said to have been killed in an ambuscade or to have died of wounds which he received in an ambuscade near Badulla.

It is said of Lieut. Roderick Mackenzie, that he died a year after the close of the rebellion "of a fever". This officer who was also associated with the first Ceylon "succeeded under the direction of the Hon'ble. J. D'Oyly in taking the principal leaders of hostilities in the Dolosbaugy country."

Coming next to the 2nd Ceylon there is the name of Thomas Hogg, Quartermaster, who died at "Atapitiya" in 1818. Lieut. Charles Barbier's obituary is assigned to the same year, and so is that of Captain Edward Smith who was Gazetted while Ensign of the 19th Regiment and commanded at Chilaw in 1817.

Richard Thin, M.D. Surgeon, who was attached to the same regiment died in 1819, while Major James Truter, with whom the reader has been placed on a familiar footing, died at Galle in 1821, "to which place he had been removed for change of air while suffering under several attacks of fever and hepatic affections on a constitution naturally delicate and debilitated by long residence in a tropical climate....."

Lieut. John Burke, who was severely wounded at Gofiyagame, "in the operations in Uva", was on half-pay leave at the time of his death in 1822; while Captain John White, who was captured but re-instated in 1817, lived to serve for two years longer.

Finally, there was Joseph Reed, Captain, who died in 1819 on his way to England aboard the "Richmond free trader," which he was proceeding for the recovery of his health.

Many a name which should find a place in the foregoing list is doubtless lost behind the curtain woven by years which count over a century.

Apart from these Regiments, there was another branch of the military establishment which was started in the time of the Uva Rebellion. This too comprised companies which were recruited locally. The existence of these small independent units is best brought under notice by an extract from the General Orders, dated 5th December, 1818, which reads as follows :—

"As the time has arrived when the Services of the two Companies of Free Malays formed for service in the Kandyan Provinces in the month of February last, as well as the Company of Colombo Moor Men formed in June last for the same service, can be dispensed with—The Commander of the Forces has pleasure in recording the sense he entertains of the loyalty and spirit, which induced the Individuals composing these Companies respectively to Volunteer their Services at a period of publick (sic) danger . . ."

"These Companies are now forthwith to be disbanded, under the inspection of Captain De Bussche, 1st Ceylon Regt : . . . the Hambantota Free Malay Company being paid to the 31st Instant inclusive . . . and the Colombo Company of Free Malays, (also)... ..the Company of Colombo Moor Men being paid ten days pay in advance from the date of their discharge respectively."

Another passage in the same order records an instance of the enlistment of Free Malays into the 1st Ceylon Regiment. It goes on to tell that "Captain De Bussche having succeeded in obtaining the Voluntary Services for Seven Years in H. M.'s 1st Ceylon Regiment, of the undermentioned Free Malays belonging to the Companies now to be disbanded, viz: Native Captain Muskin, 3 Sergeants, 2 Corporals and 24 Privates, the same are forthwith to be received into and incorporated with the 1st Ceylon....."

As far as the writer is aware, there is no reference in the literature of the period which deals with the rebellion, to the

help afforded by the Corps of Lascareens. One reference however, which doubtless applies to them appeared in the Gazette and records that ".....40 of the Cingalese Rangers under Lieut: Barbier of the 2nd Ceylon...went to Bintenne to join the force under Lieut-Col: Kelly."

The Pioneers and Gun Lascars would appear to have been brought over from India. But distinct from these there were the Cooly Detachments.

The important part filled by the Lascars, Pioneers and Coolies cannot naturally be estimated in the measure afforded by modern facilities for wheeled transport and the net-work of roads which cover practically the entire portion of the Island affected by the rebellion. Nevertheless, it is clear that the strength of these auxiliary detachments must have been considerable. The Gazette of April 18, 1818, announced that "Upwards of 1500 coolies have already landed in the Island for Peninsula Service in the Interior." Regulations formulated at the time enjoined that "the following proportion of coolies for the conveyance of Officer's Baggage will be provided under the authority of the Government, which Coolies are however to be paid and maintained at the Expence (sic) of the Officers respectively:"

"For a Field Officer, 12 Coolies.

For a Captain and Officers of corresponding Rank, 10 Coolies.

Subaltern Officers and Assistant Surgeons each 8 Coolies."

"The coolies thus furnished," the Order concludes, "are to be treated with Kindness, and no Cooly is to be required to carry more than Fifty Pounds Weight."

While on this subject of transport, another reference to be found in the Orders of the 17th December 1818, endeavours to prove at this distant date that much consideration and deference was shown to the customs and conventions of the people. Such an impression is conveyed in the following words: "It having

been reported to the Commander of the Forces that instances have lately occurred of Native Kandians having on the march of Troops in the Interior been seized and forced to carry Baggage, the Lieutenant General is under the necessity of shortly forbidding this practice in future '.

"From the peculiar Habits and prejudices of many Classes of the Kandians, who consider themselves degraded by being employed to carry burthens, it is a matter of the highest political consequence, materially connected with the tranquility of the Country, that such measures of coercion (sic) and interference should not be resorted to '.

5 Reinforcements from India

An announcement of the movements of the troops expected as reinforcements from India, was made in the Gazette of March 31st, 1818. It was recorded that the early conveyance of these troops afforded "another opportunity of marking the efficient aid which the Colony . derived from His Excellency, Sir Richard King, during his command in these seas '.

The Honble the East India Co's 1st Battalion of the 15th Regiment Native Infantry, was the first to arrive. They were soon followed by five Companies of the 7th Regiment Native Infantry "for whose conveyance to the Island the Transport *John and Regalia* were sent from Colombo under the personal charge of Lieut Pritchard, R N Agent for Transport '.

The Brigade of Sepoys which arrived as a later reinforcement from Madras was the 2nd Battalion, 18th Regiment, Native Infantry. They were expected to land "at Point de Galle," but it seems clear from subsequent notices that this body of troops landed at Batticaloa instead.

They marched through Passara, and when the troops who evidently formed the advance detachment, under Captain Swan, arrived at Kandy on the 17th of June, 1818, the main body consisting of two Divisions were on their way to Badulla, and arrived at the principal military station in Uva a day later.

"Captain Crompton, the Adjutant, the Surgeon, three Subalterns, four Companies and the sick, remained in Badulla at the disposal of Major MacDonald," the remainder marched for Kandy after resting "one clear day and a half."

It is indeed hard to call to mind the terrible trials which undoubtedly lay behind that march. Apart from fatigue and the difficulties of bivouacking at night in the open mountain regions of "Ouva, Wallapane and Hewahetta," somewhere out in those regions subtle brains were planning to harass the body of troops on the march. The hostile bands of Sinhalese were evidently summoning up sufficient courage to lay some cunning trap, and lurked in the deep wooded gullies and in the caves on these mountain sides.

The Division for Kandy consisted of 200 rank and file under Lieutenant Norton. The men marched out from Badulla on the 19th of June, and on the following day, at Dambawinna, a village near Welimada, they joined forces according to a pre-arranged plan, with a body of troops comprised of 50 Europeans and Caffres who were officered by Lieut:-Col: Kelly and Captain Cleather. The numbers were further augmented by a small escort under Lieut: Sweeting.

The Lieutenant-Colonel taking command, he marched the troops early the next morning to Paranagama (Fort McDonald) and covering eight miles of open patana country, reached his destination at 10 a.m. At this station they were joined by Lieut: Bruce, with a detachment consisting of his own corps and a part of the garrison of Thuppitiya. The force now amounted to 250 firelocks, and included with followers about 500 men.

The route from this point rises 2000 feet from Fort McDonald to the top of the mountain range running from the craggy heights of Hakgala. This mountain range had to be breasted, taking the formidable Donattokapalle pass. Descending from this eminence, the route lay through the noble vale of Maturatta, winding in and out of the deep forest-clad gorges of the Pedro wilderness, then past Hanguranketa, into Kandy.

Reports tell that the road was in many places blocked by trees which had been felled, by batteries and by thorny barriers called "Cadavetties. The troops were frequently fired at while forcing their way through these obstacles, but it was between Hanguran keta and Kandy that the attack was relentlessly pursued nearly the whole of the way.

It was the 28th of June when the Division of the H C c 18th N I, eventually reached Kandy. The conclusion drawn was that "considering the nature of the ground marched over—so difficult to a detachment encumbered with coolies, bullocks and baggages, and so favourable to a light unencumbered enemy skirmishing among rocks and jungle, the loss was inconsiderable."

The reinforcement from Calcutta would appear to have been represented by a detachment of H M's 59th Foot and a Brigade of Sepoys. Practically no information can be gleaned of the activities of the 59th Regiment, but according to a notice in the Gazette dated the 25th of July, 1818, this body of troops was at Fort William, and was "Ordered round for Ceylon."

The Brigade of Sepoys from Calcutta, was undoubtedly the 20th Bengal Native Infantry. Mention is also made of a "Company of Golundauze," who were about the same time ordered out to Ceylon.

The actual date these troops from Calcutta landed in the Island is a matter of doubt. The arrival of the Bengal Native Infantry is however confirmed by many a reference to the movements of the troops of this Brigade in the General Orders.

The Flank Companies of H M's 86th Regiment of Foot arrived from Madras on the 12th of September. There is good cause for surmise that they landed at Trincomalee, for troops of this Regiment were detailed to complete the detachment which was to move from that station to co operate with the detachments from Kandy and the Seven Korales, so as to "make the operations in Matale perfect."

The regiment lost by death in Ceylon, Lieut Home, Capt A McLean and "many brave soldiers." Another officer, Lieut Edward Caddell, died in 1819, on board the *Golconda* transport on the voyage home.

APPENDIX,

No 1.

Distribution of Troops in the Campaign begun on the 20th
September, 1818.

Text, pages 18-19.

Extract from General Orders dated 20th September, 1818.

CORPS.	Capts.	Subts.	Native Officers	Sergeants	Buglers	Rank and File	Officers' Names
Royal Engineers		1					Capt. Glenholme, 73rd Regt,
73rd : Regiment	1	2		2		22	Lieut. Bert, R. E.
83rd : Regiment		1		2		30	Lieut. Thistleton, 73rd Regt.
1st : Ceylon Regt.		1	1	2	1	56	Ensign Butler, 73rd Regt,
2nd: Ceylon Regt.				3		32	Lieut. Sumerfield 83rd Regt.
Armed Moors			1	1		31	Lieut. Crofton, 1st Ceylon.

The Advance Guard and Bag-
gage of this Division to cross
the Mahaveliganga tomor-
row, and march to Akurenne.

2nd Division, by Etgalle.

CORPS	Capt.	Subts.	Native Officers	Sergeants	Buglers	Rank and File	Officers' Names
Roy. Artillery						4	Capt. Fraser, 1st Ceylon.
Gun Lascars				1		9	Ensign Barnes, 19th Regt.
19th Regiment		1		1		20	Lieut. Wentworth, 73rd Regt.
73rd Regiment		1					Lieut. O'Neill, 83rd Regt.
83rd Regiment		2		2		30	Ensign O'Brien, 83rd Regt.
1st Ceylon	1	1	2	2	2	60	Lieut. Tulloh, 1st Ceylon.
2nd Ceylon				2		32	
Armed Moors.			1	2		31	

The Advance Guard to cross
at Watapaloga, and March
tomorrow, with Baggage to
Etgalle.

3rd Division, To Taldenia.

CORPS	Captains	Subalterns	Native Officers	Sergeants	Buglers	Rank and File	Officers' Names
19th Regiment	1			2	1	30	
83rd Regiment		1		2		10	Cpt. Dobbin, 19th Regt.
1st Ceylon Regt		1	1	2		25	Lieut. Irwin, 83rd Regt
15th Regt., N.I.			1	1		20	Lieut. Tranchell, 1st Ceylon,

The Advance Guard and Baggage will cross the Mahavelliganga, at Lewelle tomorrow, and march to Madawalla.

APPENDIX.

No. 2.

Orders relating to the Distribution of Troops and the strength of Garrisons allotted to respective Stations in the Kandyan Provinces, on the cessation of hostilities and the termination of the Uva Rebellion.

Extracts from General Orders, Dated 22. 11. 1818.

"The Head quarters of the Army will move from Kandy for Colombo on Wednesday the 25th instant, after which time all reports from Officers Commanding Districts in the Interior, with the exception of Lieut. Col. Cother, Commanding in Saffragam, are to be made to Lieut. Col. Kelly, at Kandy."

"The following Distribution of Troops for the Occupation of the several Posts in the Kandyan Provinces mentioned, is forthwith to take place, under the Orders of Lieut. Colonel Kelly, 83rd Regt. Commanding,

Commanding Officer, Lieut. Col. Kelly, 83rd Regt.

		Field Officers	Captains	Subalterns	Medical Officers	Native Officers	Sergeants & Bombardiers	Drummers	Rank and File
Garrison for Kandy.	Royal Artillery ...		1				2		29
	Gun Lascars ...					1	2		38
	19th Regiment ...			2			4	2	85
	83rd Regiment ...	1	1	2			3	2	55
	1st Ceylon Regiment ...		1	1		2	3	2	50
	2nd Ceylon Regiment ...		1	2		2	3	2	50
	15th Regt., M.N.I. ...	1	1	1	1	7	26	9	285
	Medical Officers ...				2				

Commanding Officer, Capt. Truter, 2nd Ceylon Regiment.

		Captains	Subalterns	Native Officers	Sergts. and Bombardiers	Drummers.	Rank and File
Garrison for Madawalatenne, in Tumpanne.	19th Regiment ...		1		1		20
	15th Regt. M.N.I.				2	1	40
Garrison for Ginegodda, in Harispattoo.	19th Regiment ...		1		1		15
	2nd Ceylon Reg....	1					
	15th Regt. M.N.I.			1	1	1	35

Commanding Officer, Bt. Major Hext, C.B.,
83rd Regiment.

		Field Officers	Captains	Subalterns	Medical Officers	Native Officers	Sergeants & Bombardiers	Drummers	Rank and File
Garrison for Fort McDowall, Nalandi, and Paldinia in Matele	Royal Artillery						1		5
	Gun Lascars						1		10
	83rd Regiment	1		2			5	2	85
	1st Ceylon Regt					1	4		30
	2nd Ceylon Reg					1	4		35
	15th Regt, M N I			1		2	5	2	100
	Medical Officers				1				

Commanding Officer, Captain Dobbin,
19th Regiment.

Garrisons for Taldenia Rambukelly and Etgalle in Doombura	19th Regiment	1	1			5	2	60
	1st Ceylon Regt		1		1	1		24
	2nd Ceylon Regt				1	1		24
	15th Regt, M N, I		1		2	5	2	100

Commanding Officer, Major Coane,
73rd Regiment.

Garrisons for Hangurankette, and Maturatta, in Hewahette	83rd Regiment		1			2		35
	15th Regt M N I	1			1	2	1	65
Garrison for Tibotogodda in Wallapane	83rd Regiment	1	1			1		25
	15th Regt M. N I				1	2	1	55
	Medical Officers				1			

Commanding Officer, Bt. Major Bayly,
2nd Ceylon Regiment.

		Field Officers	Captains	Subalterns	Medical Officers	Native Officers	Sergeants & Bombardiers	Drummers	Rank and File
Garrison for Amanapora in Yattanoora.	{ Royal Artillery ...	1							2
	{ Gun Lascars ...								3
	{ 19th Regiment ...			1			2		35
	{ 2nd Ceylon Regt...								
	{ 15th Regt., M.N.I.			1		1	3	2	65
Garrison for Punabella, in Oudanoora.	{ 83rd Regiment ...			1			1		10
	{ 20th Regt. B.N.I.					1	1	1	20
Garrison for Gompalla, in Oudapalata.	{ 83rd Regiment ...			1			1		15
	{ 15th Regt., M.N.I.					1	1	1	35
Garrison for Kotmale,	{ 83rd Regiment ...			1			1		20
	{ 1st Ceylon Regt ...					1	2	1	40

Commanding Officer, Captain Stewart,
2nd Ceylon Regiment.

Garrison for Ruanwellye, in the Three Korles.	{ Royal Artillery ...								3
	{ Gun Lascars ...								6
	{ 59th Regiment ...			1			1		30
	{ 2nd Ceylon Regt...		1						
	{ 20th Regt., B.N.I.			1		2	4	2	70

Commanding Officer, Captain King,
Royal Staff Corps.

Garrison for Attapettia, Hettymulle and Idamalpane in the Four Korles.	{ Royal Artillery ...								5
	{ Gun Lascars ...						1		10
	{ 59th Regiment ...	1	3				4	2	80
	{ 20th Regt., B.N.I.		1			2	7	4	180
	{ Medical Officers ...				1				

Commanding Officer, Major Macdonald,
19th Regiment

		Field Officers	Captains	Subalterns	Medical Officers	Native Officers	Sergeants & Bombardiers	Drummers	Rank and File
Garrison for Ouva Wellasse and Madulla	Royal Artillery			1			2		24
	Gun Lascars					1	3		48
	19th Regiment	1							
	73rd Regiment		3	6			10	4	200
	83rd Regiment			2			4	2	50
	1st Ceylon Regt		1	2		4	12	4	300
	2nd Ceylon Regt		1	3		4	12	4	300
	Medical Officers				4				

ABSTRACT OF THE ABOVE

CORPS	Field Officers	Captains	Subalterns	Medical Officers	Sergeants & Bombardiers	Native Officers	Drummers	Rank and File
Royal Artillery		1	1		5			59
Gun Lascars					7	2		115
H Ms 19th Regt	1	1	6		13		4	215
H Ms 59th Regt		1	4		5		2	110
H Ms 73rd Regt	1*	3	6		10		4	200
H Ms 83rd Regt	2	2	11		18		6	295
H Ms 1st Ceylon Regiment		1	5		21	9	7	444
H Ms 2nd Ceylon Regiment	1	4	5		20	8	6	402
Hon ble East India Co's 15th Regt Madras Native Infantry	1	2	4	1	47	16	20	780
Hon ble East India Co's 20th Regt Bengal Native Infantry			2		2	5	7	270
Medical Officers				9				
TOTAL	6	15	44†	10	158†	40	56	2897†

* Major Coane

† There are slight discrepancies in these figures

"The European and Native Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, Drummers and Rank and File, who are beyond the Numbers above detailed, are to join the Head Quarters of their respective Regiments at Colombo, Galle and Trincomalee.

For this purpose the Effective Supernumeraries of the 73rd Regiment will be assembled in Kandy, and march by the Route of Nalande and Minery, to Trincomalee, according to arrangements that will be directed hereafter from Head Quarters.

Those of the Royal Artillery, Gun Lascars, 19th, 83rd, 1st and 2nd Ceylon Regiments, will proceed by the Route of Kandy and Ruanwellye to Colombo.

The Sick and Convalescents of the above Regiments, together with those of the 73rd, at present in the Interior, and who are not comprehended in the foregoing Distribution, will be sent to Colombo, when sufficiently recovered to be moved.

The Detachment of the 15th Regiment of Madras Infantry at present in Saffragam, will march for Kandy, and join the Head Quarters of their Regiment at that place.

Brigadier Shuldham will be pleased to direct the march of one Company of the 20th Regt. of Bengal Infantry from Colombo to Ruanwellye, to do duty in the 3 Kories and at Idamalpane..... The Post of Idamalpane is for the future to be Considered a Dependency of Ruanwellye, and to be subject to the Orders of the Officer Commanding at that Station.

Lieut. Col. Cothier on being relieved at Ratnapora by Major Summerfield will proceed to Colombo and take the Command of the 83rd Regt., Lieut. Col. Brant being Commandant of that Garrison."

APPENDIX,

No. 3.

TRADITIONAL TALES FROM DUMBARA.

Contributed by

REV. R. SIDDHARTHA,

(Lecturer in Oriental Languages, Ceylon University College)

 Text, pages 35-36

When I read the account of Tennewatte Disawa of Hakmana and Koonammaduwe Lekama of Kurukohugama, in the article under the above heading written by Mr R L Brohier, published in the June number of your journal, there arose some curiosity in my mind to know who these two patriots were, and whether their patriotic deeds are remembered by the people of the locality, because I myself was born in the neighbourhood of those villages. So, when I went home last time to see my parents I sent for some old gentlemen of my village and inquired if they had heard anything of the above named Disawa and the Lekama. I was very glad to find that the memory of these two great patriots is still fresh in their minds. They began narrating one by one the stories connected with the patriots and their last struggle for the freedom of their mother country. All of them unanimously referred to a Mayila tree still standing in the Wahalawela (King's field) at Kurukohugama as the tree on which the Disawa was hanged publicly. They also referred to a gentleman name Tennewatte Walawwe Mutu Banda of Hakmana as the great grandson of the Disawa in the direct male line. I felt no less pride when they referred to my father also as a descendant of the Disawa. This information increased my curiosity more and more and I wanted therefore to inquire into the matter further. So, the same evening I called at Niligala Walauwa at Udaspattuwa and questioned Mr. H. B. Rambukwelle, the Ratamahatmaya of Uda Dumbara, in whose division the villages Hakmana and Kurukohugama are

age Bornure where in the house still known as Udapitiya Gedara the last king of Ceylon, the lord and master of the Disawa whose place of execution we were going to see, was captured; the notorious Medasiya Pattua where the inhabitants were made outcast more than seven times by the Sinhalese kings for the mischievous deeds; the historical Weediya connected with the life of king Senarat who was also born in this locality, and who gave up his robes for the throne and wife (Dona Kathirina) of his brother, and who built the Idam Ga (modern Idame Waluwa) at Rambukwella as his rest-house on his way from Alutnuwara to Senkadagala Nuwara; and many other things interesting historically and geographically. It took me more than an hour to walk up the path of about two miles or less and at last full of new information and fatigue we arrived at the village Doraliyadda (commonly called also as Dolliyadda). Here some villagers noticed us and out of respect or curiosity followed us though they did not know the object of our visit. Going through huts and cowsheds with their natural smells which were familiar to me in my childhood but a contrast to a street in Colombo we arrived at the field from its lower edge. Just when I stepped into the field of which the last harvest was taken away about two months ago I noticed the Mayila tree situated at a prominent place in the upper part of the field, which sloped down hill, and two men standing under the shade of the tree one of whom I at once recognized as the man who on the previous evening gave me definite information about the tree, and the other, as I came to know afterwards, was the gentleman whose grandfather was hanged on the very tree under the shade of which he was taking rest at the moment. The very sight of the tree made me forget my fatigue of the tedious trip and with increased speed I walked up from Liyadda to Liyadda jumping over each Niyara as easily as a sportive youth and arrived in a few seconds at the foot of the tree, the main stem of which now inclined along the ground as if owing to the weight of the body of the patriot who was hanged on it though the upper portion is still standing erect. I sat down on the stalks of paddy grass recently cropped as I had almost lost

A LINK WITH TRADITION.

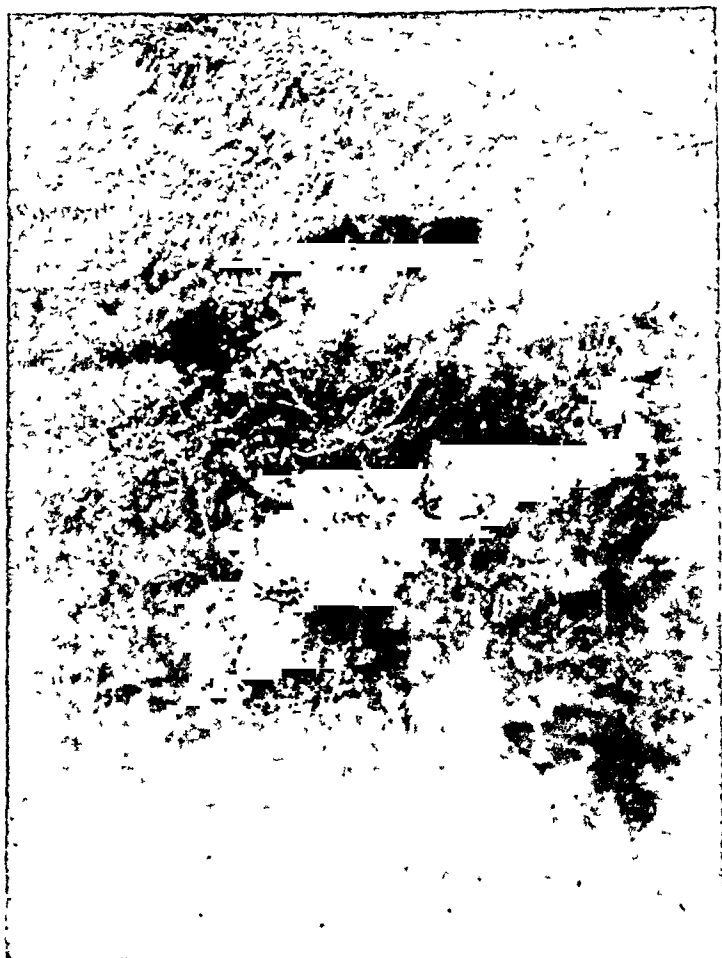


Photo by: Rev. R. Siddhartha

The MAYILA tree on which "Tennevatte Rala" was
hanged. The Kandyan standing nearby is the great
grandson of the Disawa in the direct male line.

breath owing to my walking up the field with increased speed. I recovered soon and after greeting the gentlemen whom I met there I looked up the tree and around the field and the hills and mountains lying far and near. My mind began wandering over the stories I had heard overnight and the ghost of the Disawa appeared to me in a vision. I saw, I thought, how the body of the patriot was hanging loosely while the horrified villagers were looking at it from the distant hills and fields while the Sepoys and the British soldiers under an officer in charge with their rough faces, threatening looks and vindictive attitudes were standing near the tree in the open field under the scorching sun of October.

In a few minutes arrived the Ratemahatmaya followed by some five or six men who most probably joined him on the way as being informed overnight about our visit. They too claimed knowledge of the history of the tree and some of them also rightly claimed descent from the Disawa. As it was then about 9-30 a.m., I wanted to take some photos before the sun rose higher, so, arranged some groups and one by one I took their photos of which only three are sent herewith.

The most interesting story I heard on the spot is that field was re claimed by Pitawala Ratamahatmaya, the brother in law of the Disawa who was then in the Beenna at Tennewatte Walauwa who made a present of it to king Rajadhirajasinha. While reclaiming he left this Mayila tree standing there in the middle of the field though all the other trees big and small were removed. In less than twenty five years his beloved brother in law was hanged publicly on it in his presence.

Pitawala Ratamahatmaya himself was banished to the Isle of France but after the death of the deposed king in 1832, he, along with many other state prisoners, was allowed to return to Ceylon. He loved reclaiming lands into paddy fields and there still exist many such fields reclaimed by him. One of them is the field known as Bogaha Kumbura at Rambukwella which he reclaimed and offered to the Rambukwelle Vihara with the permission of king Rajadhirajasinha in the year 1717 of the Saka Era. There are some descendants of him both at Hakmana where he lived at Beenna in Tennewatta Walauwa during the Sinhalese regime, and at Pitawala, his own village, where he resided after his return from the Isle of France.

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